



1937

## The Third International

Helen Gertrude Sayles  
*University of the Pacific*

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THE  
THIRD INTERNATIONAL  
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By

Helen Gertrude Sayles  
May 1937 "



A Thesis  
Submitted to the Department of History  
College of the Pacific

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In partial fulfillment  
of the  
Requirements for the  
Degree of Master of Arts

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APPROVED

*E. T. Werner*  
Chairman of the Thesis Committee

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## INTRODUCTION

Since the World War, the Russian experiment has formed the basis for more comment than any other movement. Of particular interest to the people of the United States has been the Third International, or Comintern, having as its aim World Revolution. Although communism has not had a great deal of influence in the United States as yet, propaganda is being spread to such a great extent that expectations for the future seem significant.

The people of the United States must decide whether the Russians have a worthy plan and whether it would be effective in this country. As there is such a wealth of material, offering justification for or criticism of such a plan it is difficult to choose wisely. During the present post-war period, many dissatisfied people have become critical of our system, for one reason or another and have been prone to accept any system which has a new plan to offer. As the Third International has a world plan and as the system in the United States is in need of adjustment, there are many possibilities for action in the future. Now, as never before, there is an opportunity for clear independent thinking. The hopes for our social, economic, and political progress are dependent upon our decisions in the near future.



## CHAPTER I

### THE ORGANIZATION OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL

Although the Third International originated in Russia, in 1919, following the Russian Revolution and the World War, the real foundations of the organization were laid by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in 1846. As both Marx and Engels were students and as they were both interested in improving the conditions of the workingmen, they founded a German workers' society, in 1846, and later joined the League of the Just which became the Communist League. At the second congress of this workers' society, Marx and Engels were asked to draw up a statement for the basis of the organization. The Communist Manifesto, which was presented in 1848, was the result of this meeting. As Sherwood Eddy has mentioned, this formed a philosophy and program of action for the growing communist movement just as Rousseau's Social Contract had formed a basis for the French Revolution, and it did for Sociology what Darwin had done for Biology.

The First International was suggested at the London Exhibition, in 1862, where French workmen began to discuss the forming of a labor organization. It was an outcome of common interests concerning the rights and necessities of labor. It resembled a social science association organized for the discussion of reform, and did not succeed in changing conditions to any extent.



In referring to the class struggle which has existed between the exploiting and the exploited, the ruling class and the oppressed classes, the "Communist Manifesto" reads:

The history of these class struggles forms a series of evolution in which now-a-days a stage has been reached where the exploited and oppressed class - the proletariat - cannot attain its emancipation from the sway of the exploiting and ruling class - the bourgeoisie - without at the same time, and once and for all, emancipating society at large from all exploitation, oppression, class distinction, and class struggles. The modern bourgeois Society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society has not done away with class antagonisms. It has but established new classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle in place of the old ones. Constant revolutionizing of production, everlasting uncertainty and agitation distinguish the bourgeois epoch from all earlier ones. For many a decade past, the history of industry and commerce is but the history of the revolt of modern productive forces against the property relations that are the conditions for the existence of the bourgeoisie and its rule. It has not only forged the weapons that bring death to itself; it has also called into existence the men who are to wield those weapons - the modern working-class, the proletariat. Not only are they the slaves of the bourgeois class and of the bourgeois State, they are daily and hourly enslaved by the machine, by the over-looker, and, above all, by the individual bourgeois manufacturer. Society can no longer live under this bourgeoisie, in other words, its existence is no longer compatible with society. The immediate aim of the Communists is the same as that of other proletariat parties; formation of the proletariat into a class, overthrow of the bourgeois supremacy, a conquest of political power by the proletariat. The proletariat will use its political supremacy, to wrest by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the State i. e. of the proletariat organized as a ruling class; and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible. The communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class; but in the movement of the present, they also represent and take care of the future of that development. In short, the communists everywhere support every revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order of things. Let the ruling class tremble at the communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Working men of all countries, unite!<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sherwood Eddy, "Communist Manifesto", Russia To-day.



Such statements clearly illustrate what the communists planned to accomplish originally as well as the activities of the communist party to-day in Russia and in every other country where it has been able to establish a foothold.

Karl Marx and Engels suggested many means of bringing about the desired results in different countries. Some of the outstanding suggestions were abolition of property in land and application of all rents of land to public purposes, a heavy or graduated income tax, abolition of all rights of inheritance, confiscation of the property of all emigrants and rebels, centralization of credit in the hands of the State, by means of a national bank with State capital and an exclusive monopoly, centralization of the means of communication and transport in the hands of the state, extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the state, the bringing into cultivation of waste lands, and the improvement of the soil generally in accordance with a common plan, equal liability of all to labor, combination of agricultural with manufacturing industries; gradual abolition of the distinction between town and country by a more equable distribution of population over the country and, lastly, free education for all children in public schools with abolition of children's factory labor in its present form. These suggestions give a plan and purpose for communists to-day even if they were suggested by these founders in 1848.

Regardless of the high principles and worthy plans of the First International, it was not destined to continue. For a time it did have a definite influence on affairs in France



and England and even Poland and Hungary, but its ideals were higher than its actions. The International was loosely organized, had insignificant financial resources, and had little support from its members. The countries had joined for the benefit which they might derive from the organization, rather than for the support which they might give to the cause. There was a break within the organization, also, as M. Bakunin, a Russian anarchist, who had joined in 1869 was anxious to carry plans much further than Marx and Engels. Finally, Bakunin was expelled from the organization and he formed a new international, or party, with supporters from Spain and Italy. Although he and his followers carried on a very active, yet bloody program for some time, they were finally suppressed by national troops, who found their task an easy one. The original First International disappeared in a few years after a rather uneventful existence.

The Second International was begun in 1889 as a party to "discuss tactics and methods of affiliated national parties."<sup>1</sup> Just as it began to become active, war problems began to appear, and the International attempted to solve them. At the time of the Agadir incident, the Italo-Turkish War, the Balkan Wars, and finally the World War, the organization met and tried to bring about satisfactory international reactions. The International tried, in every way possible, to prevent the World War, but their activities had little influence at that time. Although such persons as Lenin, Jaures, Ebert and

<sup>1</sup> "Communism", Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol., XII, 511-514.



MacDonald belonged to the International, there was no real authority who directed affairs nor brought the organization forward as a strong force.

Camille Huysmans, secretary of the Second International, attempted to call a meeting in Stockholm in 1917, but he was not successful as not a sufficient number of persons were allowed to attend the meeting. An Italian socialist, Morgari, called meetings at Zimmerwald and at Kienthal in 1915 and in 1916. These meetings were more successful than the other meeting, and as the meetings interested proletariat representatives, they formed a basis for the Third International, which was soon to be organized. On Armistice Day and soon afterwards other groups were called with hopes that the Second International could be reestablished. Several meetings were held and a definite stand was taken toward the settlements made at the end of the war. The International had a real influence on the agreements made in London, on the reparation plans, and on the accomplishments of the Locarno Conference. As time passed, however, it became clear that the Socialists and the Communists differed in their interpretation of affairs and in their means of carrying out their principles. In August, 1925, a new Second International was formed, and since that time it has been carrying out its ideas in its own way. The Socialists are very active group to-day, and they have hopes for great achievements in the near future. Although the ideals of the Socialists and Communists are similar, their plans for achievement and methods



are entirely different. They are very much concerned about affairs to-day, and they have definite solutions for modern problems. Only the future can tell how successful they will be in their attempts.

The Third International which was based upon the principles laid down by Karl Marx and Engels in the Communist Manifesto in 1848, differed from the First and Second International in that its main policy was, and is, active revolution. Although the Third International was really started in Zimmerwald and Kienthal, it did not receive real authority until Germany coöperated in carrying out the idea of revolution and in sending over Lenin and Trotsky, who were ardent supporters of the communistic idea. The basic principles of the Third International, according to the Encyclopedia Britannica, are to "quicken steps toward world revolution," by creating revolutionary proletariat parties which shall be the advance guard of the revolution, to bind the organization together by a common programme and principles and to receive its orders from a central organization, the bureau of the Third International, to allow individual communist parties in different parts of the world to organize and to carry on activities, in keeping with the needs of that special country in mind, to see that, though situations may differ in different countries, the real aim is always world revolution and that this should be actively supported in all cases.

Along with its aim of world revolution, the Third International has carried on many activities that will eventually



lead to the desired end. The outstanding activity and the one that has diverted most persons' minds from the actual ultimate aim is the forming of the United Front. By United Front is meant "the organized workmen in the trade unions are to be captured in such a way that the trade unions gradually come under the influence of the communist parties."<sup>1</sup>

In order to bring about this situation, the communists "must develop a systematic and persistent communist activity with the trade unions, work committees, coöperative societies, and other mass organizations of workmen."<sup>2</sup> Communist cells, which are subordinated to the communist party as a whole, must function within the active labor groups until the members are won over to communism. To-day there is a difference of opinion regarding the best way to accomplish this and the way to bring about a world revolution. Stalin feels that, although the world revolution is absolutely essential, it can be accomplished through a gradual process by activity for the United Front. Trotsky believes, however, that an active program toward the real aim, world revolution, should be made and that no alternative should be considered, even for a short time. Then, too, the actual bringing about of a revolution has not been as easy as it seemed at one time. Conditions have been too peaceful, since the World War, for such an accomplishment, and, regardless of the influence of

<sup>1</sup> "Communism," Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol. XII., 511-514.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.



propaganda, the attitude toward immigration, and the conditions within the world, the real purpose still seems far off. It is well to remember, however, that many workers are active at all times, that they have a great program, and that they are constantly working for their aim. If the Third International were not essential to Russia for any other reason, it would be very valuable because of the fact that it assures a backing for Russia in case of war. The Encyclopedia Britannica gives an estimate of the influence of the Third International in the statement, "the Communist International is, therefore, both an association of national parties with a definite internal political program, and at the same time an international political organization of really international importance on a world wide scale."<sup>1</sup>

Taking Russia's aims into consideration, Sherwood Eddy says:

Communism is at once a method and an organization. As a philosophy it seeks to build a new social order, or classless society, as the result of the abolition of private property and the common ownership of all means of production and distribution. As a method it believes this end can be realized only by a complete social revolution under a dictatorship of the working class. As a party organization, it seeks progressively to realize its philosophy by means of a continuing revolution, through a Third International, by the same revolutionary means in all lands, until its new social order shall be established throughout the world.<sup>2</sup>

Pope, the editor in the Commonweal for March 27, 1936, carries Eddy's idea still further when he says:

(Communism) is a great and universal danger which threatens

<sup>1</sup> Op. Cit.

<sup>2</sup> Sherwood Eddy, The Challenge of Russia, 15.



the entire world. The universality of the program of Communism is unveiledly proclaimed, invoked, procured, and then promoted by propaganda. And this propaganda is the more dangerous when, as in recent days, it assumes an attitude less violent in appearance, less impious in its aim to penetrate into places which would be less accessible were that violence continued. And, also, it obtains in places incredible success or, at least, it is met with the silence of tolerance, an inestimable advantage for the cause of evil, and one of unhappiest consequences for the cause of good.

He continues by saying:

There were three distinct stages of the Communist operation. First, there was a period of pre-electoral moderation, by which the leaders of the Communist section of the Popular Front sought, and obtained, the votes of the bourgeois elements of the Left-wing parties. Secondly, there was a period during which power was conceded by the Communists to the other groups of the popular Front, comprised of the moderate parties, so as to thrust upon the latter the responsibility for measures dispersing social assemblage, and, finally, a period of renewed revolutionary violence. Largo Caballero, the 'Spanish Lenin' announced at a Madrid meeting that now the dictatorship of the proletariat is at hand and the new régime will not be able to establish it by Pacific means, but with violence. Perhaps the success of Communism is more truly menacing in its steady conversion of adherents in this country and in England, than in the bloodshed and violence which accompany its progress in Spain and Mexico.<sup>1</sup>

As for the organization of the Third International in order to carry out its world-wide program Eddy says:

The First Congress (of the Third International) in Moscow with sixty delegates adopted frankly its constitution for the overthrow of Capitalism and the setting up of Soviet republics patterned upon that of Russia looking toward a final world-wide International Soviet Republic to be established by means of a world revolution.

Article I of the Constitution reads:

The new International workmen's association is formed for the organization of joint action by the proletariats of various countries, who are struggling for the same aims: the overthrow of capitalism, the creation of a dictatorship of the proletariat, and an International Soviet Republic for the complete abolition of classes and the realization of Socialism,

<sup>1</sup> Commonweal, Mar. 27, '36., 142.



the first step toward a Communist society.

The twenty-one points drafted by Lenin to indicate the duties of the members of the Comintern or Third International are clear and uncompromising:

1. All propaganda must be genuinely communistic and agree with the program decisions of the Comintern.

2. Reformist elements must be removed from leadership of each labor movement and replaced by true communism.

3. The revolution must be prepared for, as Civil War approaches in every country.

4. Propaganda must be carried on in each national army.

5. Farmers and peasants must be prepared for the coming conflict.

6. Social pacifism must be unmasked and the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism anticipated.

7. There must be a clean break with all reformist or compromising policy.

8. Colonies and oppressed nations must be prepared for freedom.

9. Communist agitation must be carried on in every trade union movement.

10. The second, Amsterdam, 'yellow' trade union international must be opposed.

11. Each member must subordinate his entire activities to the interests of the revolution.

12. Democratic centralization must control all parties.

13. Party cleansings must be frequent.

14. Every soviet republic must be supported by every party.

15. Each member must have a complete communist program in harmony with the Comintern.

16. All decisions of Comintern Congresses and the Executive Committee are binding upon all parties.



17. Every party must openly bear its name.

18. Party press organs must print all Comintern official documents.

19. All parties must call special conventions and inform local organizations of Comintern Congress decisions.

20. Central Committees must be unambiguously for the Comintern.

21. All party members who reject the above conditions adopted by the Comintern are to be expelled.<sup>1</sup>

Lenin's twenty-one points, adopted by the Second Congress of the Communist International, in Moscow, 1920 illustrate the careful planning for an international influence.

It is a definite world policy, which will be carried out, concretely, in the sixty-five countries in which the Communist International is actively at work. It is a policy which will be subsidized by illimitable financial resources of the Communist International.<sup>2</sup>

As time has gone on communism has become stronger in the numerous countries in which it has been established. It has also acted as a force, perhaps a silent one, which has encouraged uprisings and has led to armed struggle on the part of many believers.

According to Lenin, the task of the Communist parties, in every country where the Soviet power does not yet exist is to provide for the following:

1. The explanation to the wide masses of the working class of the historical significance and of the political and historical inevitability of the new proletarian democracy, which must be put in the place of bourgeois democracy and of parliamentarism.

2. The spreading and organization of Soviets among the

<sup>1</sup> Sherwood Eddy, The Challenge of Russia, 112.

<sup>2</sup> G. M. Godden, "New Com. Attack on Youth," Cath. World, May, '36.



workers in all sections of industry and among the soldiers of the army and fleet, and also among the agricultural labourers and poor peasants.

3. The formation inside the Soviets of a firm Communist majority.<sup>1</sup>

The tasks of the communists after the elections of 1936 according to Earl Browder are:

1. To stimulate and help in every way the mass movements to extend trade union organization and fight for improved conditions, especially in the unorganized and basic industries; to fight for realization of the program of the Committee for Industrial Organization, while at the same time fighting for a united American Federation of Labor and against the threatening split.

2. To stimulate and organize the growing demand for more advanced social and labor legislation for extension and protection of democratic rights; to bring about the broadest possible united front of workers, together with farmers, lower middle classes and progressives, for this purpose, while always pressing for independent organization of the advanced elements, and pushing forward the Farmer-Labor Party in every way.

3. To crystallize a more definite and effective movement for peace which can influence the policies of the American government, throwing its influence on the side of the democracies threatened by fascism, for help to embattled Spain, for active efforts in collaboration with the peace forces of the world to combat the war danger.

4. To extend and strengthen the organization of the Communist Party itself, to conduct a big recruiting campaign on the basis of the favorable conditions resulting from the Party's work in the election, to raise new cadres of leaders for the Party and the mass movement, to educate and train these cadres and the whole Party membership in the spirit of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, in the preparation for greater tasks and struggles, solving the immediate tasks in such a way as to lead the American masses increasingly toward the understanding of socialism and the struggle for its realization.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, The Foundation of the Communist International, 23.

<sup>2</sup> Earl Browder, "The Presidential Elections in the U. S.," The Communist International, Dec. '36., 1591.



## CHAPTER II

## THE RECENT HISTORY OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL

While the idea of a world revolution, the basic principle of the Third International, was suggested by Lenin as early as 1914 and was developed upon the original plans, set up by Marx and Engels, no action was taken until after the Russian Revolution in 1917.<sup>1</sup> With the new insight into the actual conditions of the working men, as a result of events following the World War, and the renewed interest in improvement, a revolution of some type was inevitable. Rosenberg points out that the communists were fortunate in this respect as they took advantage of the situation rather than producing it.<sup>2</sup> With the establishment of the Third International came the determination to spread communism by means of a World Revolution, and elaborate plans were made. Great reliance was put upon the possible accomplishments of the Third International, and great demands were made upon the Russian people. The communists, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, were expected to do away with imperialism, and with the exploiters, and to introduce the principles of the manifesto of 1919, including the socialization of banks, utilities,

<sup>1</sup> Arthur Rosenberg, A History of Bolshevism.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.



communal enterprises, and industries.<sup>1</sup> Equality has been achieved, to a certain degree, and support has been obtained, voluntarily or involuntarily, from the very beginning.

In this period it was soon evident that the communist objectives were too difficult and too comprehensive, and great changes, particularly in the economic plans, were begun. At this time the New Economic Policy, containing very definite aims and requirements, was organized. Lack of knowledge, thoughtlessness, and even violence made success almost impossible in these early experimental years. Great achievements and unbelievable progress, in certain lines, were proof that the Russian people could be relied upon. With the emphasis placed upon the internal development of Russia, the Third International was no longer able to serve its original purpose. Rosenberg states that the Third International has been useless from that time, and that its only reason for its existence has been the possible aid that it might give the communist plan as a result of a legend that has been built up about it.<sup>2</sup> From the standpoint of peace workers, the Third International has often been regarded as a detriment as it does not seem logical to emphasize peaceful relationships and at the same time, strive for a world revolution. The supporters of the Third International are confident that support from outside countries is essential to

<sup>1</sup> Harry W. Laidler, A History of Socialist Thought, 487.

<sup>2</sup> Op. Cit.



the success of the communist plan, and since they have become convinced that a world revolution is not possible at the present time, they have chosen this alternative.

Sherwood Eddy refers to the three stages into which this period might be divided. First, the War Communism, 1917 - 1921, second, the New Economic Policy, 1921-1927, and third, Stalins Drive for Socialization, 1928-1933.<sup>1</sup> He also mentions a further development through a period of State capitalism and private capitalism, evident in 1931, a State Socialism, and a "pure communism", which some believe is existing at the present time. As a result of the close alliance of the Soviet Government, the Communist Party, and the Third International, when changes in leadership or policies have been made in one group, similar changes have been made in the others. This was true at the time of Lenin's change in attitude toward the Soviet Government after the failure of the first plan. This was true to an even greater extent under Stalin when he came to power in 1922, and when he introduced the idea of the development of Socialism with a single country.

Although Lenin stressed the necessity of a Russian revolution to obtain freedom from dominance by the czars, Stalin has required the same obedience. The original plan of violence has been supplanted by a gradual process, dependent upon stable internal conditions but with every change a strong belief in dominance of one man has been upheld. From 1922-1925 Zinoviev,

<sup>1</sup> Sherwood Eddy, The Challenge of Russia, 38.



Kamenev and Stalin ruled as a committee of three. For a time Trotsky kept his place as a member of the Central Committee and as the People's Commissar of war, but he soon objected to the small group that was ruling Russia to the lack of participation by the individual party members, and to the defeats of the leaders of the Third International.<sup>1</sup> With his continued thrusts at Stalin's activities, with which he disagreed on every point, Trotsky was finally able to win Zinoviev to his side. In the meantime it appeared as if Stalin were carrying on activities and supporting policies that would lead to a complete reversal of the original aims of the proletariat. Under the absolute rule which he established, when he first came into power, it has not been possible for anyone to change conditions to any extent. Zinoviev and Kamenev gave their support to the Soviet Government again, but Trotsky, in his repeated efforts to change the trend of affairs, was exiled to Turkey in 1929.<sup>2</sup> Since then he has wasted no time in expressing his ideas, in writing on the communist plan, and in preparing for action for a world revolution in the future. Stalin, in the meantime, has continued to carry out his policies regardless of opposition from any sources. Rykov, Bukharin, and Tolski lost their influential positions and all other active workers who might challenge Stalin's policies in any way have been removed. Strict censorship and the fear of

<sup>1</sup> Arthur Rosenberg, A History of Bolshevism.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.



exile makes freedom of expression impossible. Stalin's supporters interpret his activities as necessary for the development of communism in Russia, while his opponents heartily disagree with his foreign policy, his domestic policy, and the attitude which he has taken toward the Third International. Future trends are almost impossible to estimate.

As a result of difficulties and uncertainties, the Third International did not meet, at a general congress, from 1928 to 1935. At that time the Seventh Congress of the Third International made very radical changes in their tactics. Instead of working independently for a world revolution in the immediate future, the group decided to coöperate with other groups, to form a united front. This would not only strengthen communism, for the time being, but would break down the forces of fascism, which showed evidence of increasing power. For this reason the communists included within their group petty bourgeoisie, Liberals, Socialists, Labourites, and Catholics.<sup>1</sup> Although this action did not appear logical at first, within a short time it became evident that the communists were not relinquishing their whole plan but that they were merely adjusting their plan for a present need. The "boring in" process, accompanying this change, may have a greater influence in the future than the original plan.

There are many reasons for encouragement in the present Russian situation despite the severe criticism, much of which

<sup>1</sup> "Third International", New Standard Encyclopedia, 147.



is justifiable because of the advancements in almost every line as a result of efficient leadership, loyal support, and the proper use of rich natural resources. The collectives judged as the very basis for success, have developed remarkably in a short time. The New Russian Constitution, adopted in December, 1936, is another evidence of the success of the Communist party.<sup>1</sup> It is not possible to determine the degree of success that this represents, but to the communists it signifies a "pure democracy" for which they have been working since the beginning. The supporters of the Third International would point to this as an evidence of their success, while the opponents would emphasize that this is a positive indication of the uselessness of the Third International. The Third International is definitely on trial at the present time. The future will depend upon the actual power which Stalin, Trotsky, and other outstanding men represent as well as new forces that are developing now and will be influential in the future.

<sup>1</sup> Samuel Shipman, "Russia's New Constitution", Current History, Dec., 1936.

CHAPTER III  
THE INFLUENCE OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL  
IN RUSSIA TO-DAY

In considering the Third International and its possible influence on the United States, probably the first point of importance will be the Communist program as it is carried on in Russia and the success with which it is carrying out its plans. The common feeling regarding the whole situation is, that we do not get the truth about Russia in what we read and what we hear. William R. Castle in speaking of this says:

When I was in the Department of State, I read few books about Russia, because practically no books were written which were not pure propaganda for or against the Union Socialist Soviet Republics.<sup>1</sup>

He continues his discussion by saying:

I have never been afraid of this propaganda, because I have too much confidence in the intelligence of the American people to feel that they would be greatly affected by it.<sup>2</sup>

He admits without question, as almost everyone else does, however, that the truth is a hard thing to find in and about Russia. This is, no doubt, the case because Russians are sometimes not careful about honesty as a policy, because the Russians are eager to paint a bright picture of the conditions in a communist country, and because foreign writers see, and

<sup>1</sup> William R. Castle, "Russia: Conclusions of a Statesman", Ann. of Am. Acad. (174), July, '34.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.



interpret conditions differently, nevertheless, the fact remains.

In many cases it is explained that if people just knew about conditions in Russia, they would understand that the people were working toward an Utopian situation and that they are actually becoming democratic to-day. William R. Castle differs in his viewpoints, and he states:

I am one of those who believe that a serious study of the system, an unprejudiced study of Communism in action as it can be seen in Russia, not merely as a theory, should confirm and would confirm us Americans in our loyalty to our own democratic tradition and practice. We have grown up to believe in universal suffrage and in a democratic constitutional government, and we believe that on the whole, the results for the nation are better than they could be under a dictatorship.<sup>1</sup>

He continues by saying that:

Some farmers criticize our system and regard other situations as much superior, but not even the most heavily mortgaged among them would submit to the plane of living which is the norm among the peasants of Russia.<sup>2</sup>

Most writers find it difficult to explain the degraded situation of the Russian peasants. Not only the peasants, but all people seem to live on a very low level, enjoying only a few of the advantages and privileges which we have here in the United States. Chamberlain, in speaking of this situation says that conditions are terrible, but we have no way of knowing about them because leaders of visitors, or writers, are usually paid officials who must support their government without question. Hospitalization is one evidence of

<sup>1</sup> Op. Cit... 160.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 161.



the indescribable conditions in Russia. It is almost impossible for us, under our present conditions, to imagine the filth and the unkempt conditions of hospitals. To think of inadequate ventilation, improper plumbing, and lack of care for flies and other insects is almost beyond our understanding. This is particularly true when a plan originating in this country wants to bring about a world revolution so that all governments will be able to live under the same conditions that Russia enjoys!

Elson in referring to the conditions in Russia following the Armistice says that:

While other countries were ready to start working for a new life in that unhappy land, the miseries of the people were multiplied after the armistice. The cause lies in the fact that the extreme radical leaders were in control, with the avowed purpose to overturn society, demolish the institutions that had been centuries in building, destroy all old governments of the world by force and violence, and set up a new and untried system.<sup>1</sup>

Elson continues in his opposition to the whole Russian system in Russia and in other countries by stating:

In Russia and on its borders the Red Armies seized grain and other supplies, and became a greater scourge than tsarism ever was. Their ravages have no parallel since the Mohammedan invasions of the seventh century. Thousands of people were put to death for no crime except their unwillingness to accept the Bolshevist doctrines. The failures of crops in 1921 and the weakness of the Soviet System brought the greatest famine ever known in Russia. By the spring of 1925 the Bolsheviki saw clearly that their communistic system was a failure. Under the leadership of Stalin they granted the peasant farmers the right to retain private control of their farms and to hire labor. They also permitted the establishing of private industries without limiting the number of hired laborers.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Henry W. Elson, Modern Times and the Living Past, 709.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 711.



It may be that this historian understands forces that few take into consideration, but he does take a more pessimistic view than most people do in admitting the failure of the Bolshevik movement and in showing a need for adjustments.

Feiler suggests, as his opinion for the apparent failure for the Russian experiment, that; " it is being proved that the socialization of man is even more difficult than the nationalization of the means of production."<sup>1</sup> He feels that the Soviet Union and the communistic economic system is still struggling for existence. His reason for this belief is that machines have been improved and new machinery has been installed, but still people are not being given as much consideration nor have their conditions been improved to the extent that machinery has. In referring to this he says:

For the worker there remains, of course, the machine, and the machine work with its dominating technique and its divided labor has been immensely increased. And for the worker remains above all the plant's hierarchy with the management, the specialists (the engineers), and the white collar employees. More than that the worker has no right to go on a strike, the trade unions are a part of the apparatus of the regime. The leadership of the plant is operated by the triangle of the director, the chairman of the shop council and the chairman of the communist cell. This shows the mixture of democracy and dictatorship which prevails here. By the democratic parts of the system the worker feels that it is his plant in which he works, as well as his state in which he lives. For that purpose great privileges are afforded him.<sup>2</sup>

Ole Hanson, of Seattle, fears the situation in Russia because of its many possibilities of influencing the United

<sup>1</sup> Arthur Feiler, "An Economist's Analysis of Soviet Russia," Ann. of Am. Academy, (174), July, '34, 153.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 154.



States and says:

Someday the intelligent people of the earth will realize that plague spots such as Russia cannot exist without endangering all of us. Briefly sketched, their history reveals a past so dark, so gruesome, so bereft of liberty and light, of freedom and opportunity that its recitation cannot fail to cause every sincere lover of freedom to take the side of these oppressed and exploited people. Judas betrayed his Saviour, Benedict Arnold betrayed military secrets, but Lenin and Trotsky and bolshevists betrayed one hundred and eighty million free people, and by assassination and force drove them back into slavery. By means of force the bolshevists defeated the attempt of the people of Russia to establish for themselves a representative form of government.<sup>1</sup>

He continues to prove that the Russian people have not been given a fair deal by showing that the masses are absolutely under the sway of those at the head of the laboring forces. Attempts are made to make it appear as if the Russian system were democratic, but down below it all, the peasants are constantly being defeated. The fact that a strike would be an impossibility in Russia shows how well they are kept under control. Hanson feels that Bolshevism will remain in Russia just as long as they are able to apply force to the situation. Although democracy may be their aim, in theory at least, it will not be obtained until more of the people have a right to think for themselves.

Sherwood Eddy, in The Challenge of Russia stresses the fact that the Russians feel that they are working for the "downtrodden and long suffering toilers" in their fight against the capitalistic nations, which are pictured as nations living in luxury and striving to exploit all of the

<sup>1</sup> Ole Hanson, Americanism vs. Bolshevism.



weaker nations of the world. They set their aim high when, as stated in the Communist Manifesto, they aim:

To end the domination of capitalism, make war impossible, wipe out state boundaries, transform the whole world into a cooperative commonwealth, and bring about real human brotherhood and freedom.<sup>1</sup>

There has been a great deal of disagreement regarding the present influence and the possibility of future influence of the affairs of Russia on the United States and on the world in general. Calvin B. Hoover, professor of economics of Duke University, said in Harper's for October, 1930:

World opinion remains either uninformed or misinformed about the progress of the greatest economic and social experiment in human history. It is not too much to say that the history of the world for the next fifty years, and perhaps for a much longer period, depends upon the result of events in the Soviet Union during the present year. When the standard of living of the Soviet worker reaches a point where it is somewhat above that of the poorest paid half of the workers of western Europe, the full significance of the results of the experiment in Soviet Russia will become apparent. Repression of the handful of communists in the United States, stricter laws against communist propaganda, police action against communist agitators at the present time are futile and ill-advised. A recognition of the very real achievements of the Soviet system and a determination to adopt such experimental data as has been developed in Russia to the needs of our country is all important. If bourgeois civilization is capable of learning from the social and economic experiment of Soviet Russia, then the Russian Revolution will have been a real contribution to human progress as was the French Revolution. Unless the capitalists can find ways and means to improve, very measurably, the standards of living of its lowest classes of laborers, and at the same time to reconcile the economic rivalries between nations, a militant and fanatic Russian communism will be hammering at the gates of Berlin by the end of the present decade.<sup>2</sup>

Eddy agrees with many other persons that it is a great experiment, and in proving his point, he refers to its development

<sup>1</sup> Sherwood Eddy, The Challenge of Russia, 10.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 15.



since the very beginning:

The principles and policies of Marx and Lenin have given a kind of classic basis and orthodox norm to the new movement, but one of its most notable characteristics has been its continuous change and its quick and constant adaptation to the circumstances of a rapidly altering environment. Probably no government in the world in the last dozen years has made so many colossal experiments or so many mistakes; none has confessed to so many failures and defects; none has been so quick to adapt itself to changing conditions. To understand communism to-day we must not only constantly remember its social philosophy as worked out by Marx, but the stages through which it has passed or which it is destined to enter.<sup>1</sup>

The stages through which it has passed are: the War Communism, 1917-1921, The New Economic Policy, 1921-1927, and Stalin's Drive for Socialization, 1928-1933. The two remaining stages, according to the communists, are: the present compromise, or mixture of state capitalism and private capitalism, which will give place to state socialism, and the final stage, or pure communism. The Russians maintain that this has been supplanted by pure democracy in the New Russian Constitution.

In reference to the influence of the Russian experiment on agriculture, Eddy says:

With eighty-two per cent of its population rural, much of Russia, as one vast almost unbroken, alluvial plain, must stand or fall by its agriculture. The present agrarian revolution may have a significance and magnitude second only to the great industrial revolution of the eighteenth century. It is probably the most thoroughgoing agrarian upheaval in history. The significance of the present movement can only be understood in the light of the past history of the country. The whole of Russia may almost be regarded as one vast experimental farm.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Op. Cit., 38.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 45.



He continues by saying:

Thus, in the course of one or two decades Russian agriculture is becoming rapidly industrialized and socialized, coöperative and collective. It is indeed one of the most significant experiments in the world.<sup>1</sup>

In making these statements Eddy is placing the attempts in Russia along with the great movements of history and is showing, in every way, that the Revolution has had a tremendous influence on Russia. The next point for the United States to consider then, is the possible influence here. In some cases, at least, Eddy feels that we are sending our skillful and intellectual men out of the country because they dare to introduce a better system in the United States. For example:

The important Turkestan-Siberian Railway, over 1100 miles in length, connecting the southern belt with the granary of Siberia was completed in April, 1930, over a year ahead of schedule. Its builder, Shatoff, was a member of the I. W. W. in the United States for whom America could find no better place than a jail. In Russia, he was recognized at once as an able banker and railway builder. Of some 10,000 engineers, technicians, and skilled workers from foreign lands now working in Russia, nearly a thousand are from America, with a larger number from Germany.<sup>2</sup>

There are two views to take on this question, however, as America must preserve her traditions and the policies, which she considers fair and just, as well as making use of her experts and her intellectuals.

As the labor groups are the real sources of force within the country:-

The trade unions in Russia are naturally the largest and strongest of any country of the world. A trade union card is

<sup>1</sup> Op. Cit., 61.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 67.



a priceless possession and its many privileges are attested by the almost maximum... Their special privileges, however, are numerous, including protection by labor laws, reduction in payment of taxes, social insurance, rents, tickets for theatres and entertainments, preference in entrance for themselves or their children in educational institutions,<sup>1</sup> free vacations at rest houses and free medical treatment.

Child labor is prohibited; rest centers are established in many centers; and on the whole conditions are greatly improved. The question still remains, however, whether the conditions which should prevail in Russia are those which the United States will want to adopt.

Another point to consider in the Russian plan is the government. As a general rule, there is more criticism than support of the system because the majority of "onlookers" feel that it is too bureaucratic, that it is too binding and, therefore, is not satisfactory for the type of civilization which Russia hopes to produce. The Russians have realized the truth in this feeling, apparently, and the New Russian Constitution has been the result. On April 21, 1935, a committee was selected to form a new Russian constitution. On November, 1936 the All-Union Congress met to adopt it, and on December, 1936 the new constitution was put into effect.

Dr. Werner states that the new constitution is very much like that in the United States.<sup>2</sup> It provides for two houses, the Council of Nationalities and the Council of Union which are under the Supreme Council. The Supreme Council elects a

<sup>1</sup> Op. Cit., 75.

<sup>2</sup> In a lecture on "The New Soviet Constitution in Apr., 1937.



Presidium, which is in continual session, and over which Stalin presides, at present, as chairman. In addition to these groups is a People's Commissar, which corresponds to our cabinet. As far as the organization is concerned, it appears as if the system is becoming a great deal more democratic. More rights, in many provisions, more guarantees, and more general freedom is given than in most circumstances. However, many persons are firmly convinced, again, that the Russian people are not being given the freedom and consideration that they understand that they are being given, and that Stalin is increasing in power rather than decreasing. While universal suffrage is assured and anyone over eighteen years of age can be elected to any position, really only one group can vote. Six groups, the communists, the coöperatives, Labor Unions, Organizations of Youth, Teachers' Unions, and Professional Unions can nominate, but their real influence is not as great as it appears on the first consideration. The fact that such a well-planned and comprehensive constitution has made indicates that the Russians are making progress, and that they are providing for future trends. At the same time, their changes indicate that they are not relinquishing any of their long-fought-for rights nor that they are losing their hold on the people. Perhaps the same trends might apply to the Third International, but it will take some time to appreciate the recent developments that are being made.

Looking at Russia from another standpoint, conditions do appear to be greatly improved. The government has been



anxious to provide all of the cultural facilities possible, and the reaction on the part of the people has been very good. While most of their time is spent working, as their aim is to have all men producers, they make definite provision for leisure time activities. They make sure, also, that each person has the leisure time which has been promised to him. The people go to the art galleries, the museums, the operas, the concerts, and the theatres in great numbers, and they seem to be greatly influenced by their experiences. The performers are real artists, and they feel that their mission is twofold, to amuse and to teach or inspire. The types of pictures, the types of lectures, and expression in their music are clear indications that they are very closely influenced by and related to the revolution. Their creation of and appreciation of art to-day is an evidence of a cultural background as well as a satisfactory development. Those countries which are observing Russia critically to-day will take this growth as the best indication of a promising future. While Russians have lost many great values in life and while they have suffered great hardships, their appreciation for the highest values in life proves that at least some individuals are being improved personally. Eddy says:

The new social order must include both justice and liberty. It must embrace, or make room for, the five great achievements of the human race - culture, moral and spiritual insight, law and order, scientific achievement, and, last but not least - that which has hitherto been the missing link of human experience - socialization, social justice, the



sharing of the good life of all.<sup>1</sup>

Generally the regular social life of Russia is criticized from every standpoint. In the first place, the matter of marriage and divorce has been taken too lightly to be looked upon with approval by the majority of the people of the world. They consider the matter of marriage as sacred, and they feel that it should be taken seriously. Even if conditions are being greatly changed and improved to-day, still people criticize and blame the Russian system for the situation. The women of Russia are often complimented because of their energy and initiative, yet most of the western powers, at least, feel that she spends too much of her time working and supporting the Russian system. They feel that she should be at home attending to her family. Most people cannot appreciate the attitude which the Russians take in feeling that women should be given their freedom, that families are better cared for within a cooperative, and that day nurseries are just the places for the children. The communists emphasize the good care that the children are given and the influence of the excellent training that would be lacking at home. One author comments upon the pleasure which the family gets out of having one day to be together and to go for a walk and rare privilege of being given a day of freedom from their work. The Russians object to the holiday every five days, which may be any day of the week, and

<sup>1</sup> Sherwood Eddy, Russia To-day, 276.



which does not allow any worker a definite day to spend with his friends.

Labor conditions, on the whole, are improved so that most of the communists live on a much higher scale than they did originally. In answer to the fact that they had no problem of unemployment while we were having a great deal of trouble, many commentators say that their situation would have been much worse than ours if their workers had not been sent to Siberia in great numbers. The inhuman way in which they were treated when being sent into exile is almost unbelievable also. The living conditions of the Russians are improved, but they are still so far from perfection that many people wonder if conditions will ever be really satisfactory.

Although the present attitude toward youth is strange, they, along with people of all countries, put their faith in the youth of the land. Instead of trying to give their young people all of the advantages in the world for their own personal good, they put forth all of the effort possible to train their young people to be good, loyal communists. Lenin wrote:

While the object of our previous struggle was to overthrow the bourgeoisie, the aim for the new generation is much more complex; it is to construct communist society.<sup>1</sup>

In other words, they must often actually work against the ideas and principles held sacred by their parents, and, at the same time, do all that they can in order to convert them

<sup>1</sup> Sherwood Eddy, The Challenge of Russia, 82.



to the new system. On the surface, this may sound easy, but when it is applied to real life it is a difficult situation to imagine. Eddy, in giving his approval of the Russian youth says:

When one contrasts the youth of certain other lands, with their jazz, their petting parties, their automobiles, their 'get rich quick' ambitions, their measurement of values in terms of personal possession and competitive individual acquisition, one wonders, not whether there is anything to learn in this great laboratory of life, but whether we shall be willing to learn it and learn it in time.<sup>1</sup>

This in itself will be a great experiment to watch in the future.

The attitude of the Russians toward other races has been satisfactory so far. This is particularly interesting because of progressive countries such as the United States have not been, nor are, as tolerant as they should be. Some people wonder what the present attitude of the negro toward the communistic system means. Others feel, without question, that it shows that the negroes still have not been given a fair deal. Eddy says:

If after nineteen centuries of privilege we refuse to admit the negro to real brotherhood, can we blame the communists, or any other system for offering equal comradeship?<sup>2</sup>

Other unsatisfactory world conditions make the present situation in Russia very hopeful.

In a world among whose major problems race prejudice walks so large, it may make a real contribution to find one system which transcends this prejudice. In the world to-day, probably four peoples suffer most from this disease of race and color

<sup>1</sup> Op. Cit., 141.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 263.



prejudice, the American, British, the Germans, and the high caste people of India in their attitude toward and treatment of the 'untouchable' outcaste.<sup>1</sup>

If a sufficient number of people consider this important, it may have a great influence in the struggle for the spread of communism.

If the Russians were always as tolerant of their non-communist members as they are of foreign people, their system would be much more desirable. Instances are given in which Russians who are opposed to communism have been killed for very small misdemeanors. One man was supposed to have been imprisoned, for instance, for picking a flower off a shrub. The communists have made certain laws which they feel must be observed, and no leniency is given in their demand for support, especially if the persons concerned are not members of the communist party. How influential this close restriction will have on the intellectual development of the Russians in general is difficult to estimate.

One must always make the regrettable exception of their treatment of their class enemies which is often cruelly unjust. But apart from them and the secret police, their penal system is probably the most modern, the most humane, the most redemptive in the world.<sup>2</sup>

Their attitude toward their criminals is, on the whole, very good. They feel that the criminal has not been given the proper treatment or that he has been living under undesirable conditions, and they do all within their power to

<sup>1</sup> Op. Cit., 228.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 147.



help him return to a sane way of life. Not only are the prisoners given more freedom, particularly if they are members of the Communist Party, but they are allowed to live a very normal life while they are in prison. Prisoners are allowed to marry and to raise families. They are also permitted to go on vacations. In the meantime, they are trained in a definite trade so that they can live useful lives when they are freed. They are so happy, in certain institutions that they are willing to remain there, or if they do leave and have a difficult time making a living, they may return to prison of their own accord.

How many of the inmates of Sing Sing, of Auburn, of the long notorious San Quentin would choose to remain near the scene and under the influence of the beloved colony that opened their eyes? How strange that under this dictatorship, yes, under the very 'terror' of the G. P. U., there should exist such a redemptive penal system, while in the free democracy of the land of Thomas Matt Osborne the prison system should so often be obsolete, inhuman, penal, and vindictive. It gives an American a rude shock to come from a great redemptive Reclamation Colony in Russia to see the American picture, 'The Big House,' which pictures the penal system existing in the United States to crowded audiences in Europe. If American prisons are half as bad as this film betrays them, they are a disgrace to any civilized country in the twentieth century. Instead of being redemptive the system appears to be vindictive, inhuman, a factory of crime, a maker of criminals. So long as the American prison system is in such crying need of reform, her citizens cannot justly hold other countries in contempt or believe that there are no lessons to be learned from them.<sup>1</sup>

Although everyone in the United States feels that the prison conditions are bad, it is doubtful whether many feel that conditions are as undesirable as they are pictured in such movies as 'The Big House', or as satisfactory all over Russia

<sup>1</sup> Sherwood Eddy, The Challenge of Russia, 150.



as they are often described. Without a doubt, there are places where conditions are so unsatisfactory that they would outweigh many of the outstanding achievements of many of these model institutions.

The former palaces and resorts of the rich now inhabited by happy workers on their vacation may be visited by all, but not so the dreaded Solovyetzky Island in the cold White Sea of the north, inhabited by political and religious prisoners. Russians should be as ashamed of such places as should Americans of their unreformed prison system, the indefinite confinement of men like Mooney and Billings, or the gang war of misgoverned cities like Chicago.<sup>1</sup>

The attitude which the communists have taken toward religion probably forms a basis for more criticism than in any one thing in Russia to-day. While religion was something essential for Russians in early days and was expressed in a very sacred way, to-day it is considered merely an "opiate" or a drug that keeps people from realizing true facts. The communists assert that members of the party may go to church if they wish, but they have been shown in every possible way, that it is not the wise thing to do. Deserted churches have been used for the communist party in various ways; priests have been poorly paid or driven out of the country. Instead of worshiping God, most communists worship Lenin and hold him as an idol. Thus, communism, not mere spiritual development, will be developed. The future will depend upon how strong religion was originally. Eddy thinks that it was not as effective as some people feel that it was. He says:

The type of religion developed in Russia was an esthetic

<sup>1</sup> Op. Cit., 153.



mysticism. Its services were the most beautiful, harmonious, and reverent in the world. It was lacking, however, in moral fiber and in social vision. It was pietistic, other-worldly, individualistic, and prevailingly anti-social. It stood for charity, not social justice, for reaction rather than reform.<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless, whether Russia, with its communist system, is pictured as a progressive well-managed, and hopeful country or whether it is pictured as an unprogressive, mismanaged and hopeless country, there is no doubt about the fact that it will have a tremendous influence on the whole world in the near future. Although some people maintain, as Muggeridge does, that "no longer, it is felt, is the main objective to bring about the circumstances for world revolution,"<sup>2</sup> most people feel that present more conservative plans or methods that are being used are merely temporary measures providing for the present situation yet preparing, in a quiet way, for the revolution which the Russians feel is sure to come. Not only must Russia be fully prepared for a great aim of this type, but other countries must be ready also. It will take years, no one can estimate definitely how many, before the real aim can be put into practice. In recent years a point of great interest has been the amount of propaganda which has been spread in the United States. In answer to objections from the government of the United States, the Soviet Government has said that the Third International is responsible for this type of activity and that the Third International is an entirely separate organization from the regular

<sup>1</sup> Op. Cit., 157.

<sup>2</sup> Malcolm Muggeridge, "When Knights Were Bold," Fortnightly, Aug. 1936.



Soviet Government; therefore they take no responsibilities.



CHAPTER IV  
INFLUENCE OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL  
ON EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

Although the whole world watches Russia with questioning eyes, they probably do not see as much nor understand as much as Russia does about conditions in other countries. Evidence of this fact is the number of communists who are sent over from Russia to a certain spot within any country where a disturbance might lead to the acceptance of communism. In this regard Hanson says, "Bolshevism in Russia will last just so long as her force in the field is the strongest force."<sup>1</sup> He also quotes Bancroft as having said, "Our land is not more the recipient of the man of all countries than of their ideas."<sup>2</sup> The statements, with which any number of people would agree, prove that communist ideas influence all countries more than we realize whether the Russians are actually here working among our people or whether they are at home supporting their system. Wherever the communist party is, there force is, apparently.

Although the Soviet Government declares that it is not responsible for the activities of the Third International, it sees the value of the organization and, perhaps without

<sup>1</sup> Ole Hanson, Americanism vs. Bolshevism, 195.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 136.



being conscious of it, it supports the Third International. The general attitude of the Bolshevists leaders with respect to the Third International is that it represents one of their most important activities. As Zinoviev states in an article in the Petrograd Pravda of November 7, 1919:

Our Communist Third International now already represents one of the greatest factors of European history, and in a year, in two years, the Communist International will rule the world.<sup>1</sup>

Zinoviev illustrates, even more clearly, the desires of the Communist Party in his protest against the Execution of Communists in Budapest in the Petrograd Pravda, November 29, 1919:

The world revolution grows stronger every day in spite of everything. The world revolution moves and will come to the help of our brothers, the Hungarian workmen who are being crucified. It is necessary that the Third International should be established in France. The French workmen must seize the power in factories and banks; they must rise up against their present leaders if these should give way to disgraceful opportunism. Further delay must not be allowed. Barracks and Arsenals must be broken into. Ammunition, machine guns, rifles and guns must be seized. A strike must break out everywhere and must be followed by a rising which will result in workman's rule being established in France. Rise comrades, proletariat of France. To arms! The day of the second anniversary of the October revolution must be the beginning of the proletariat revolution in France. Down with the dictatorship of the French bourgeoisie! Down with the social traitors who support counter-revolution. Long live the French communist revolution. Long live the Third International!<sup>2</sup>

This same spirit may not be found in all cases, but the attitude of active workers toward the trend of affairs in different countries is clearly shown here. In preparing the

<sup>1</sup> "The Com. Party in Russia," International Conciliation, 64.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 101.



Russian people to carry through programs of this type,

Parmelee says:

In contradistinction to the situation in Italy and Germany, the Russian people are made to feel that they are playing not only an important, but a preponderant part in the course of events. A considerable part of the bolshevist program is devoted to making the people politically literate. The purpose is to render them immune to demagoguery and independent of personal leadership, so as to enable them to direct the affairs of government directly and of themselves.<sup>1</sup>

In reference to the importance which all of this enthusiasm will have on Russia herself, Fischer in his article on "Russia Points the Way" says:

There is only one real reply to Trotsky's charge that Moscow is doing nothing for the world revolution. Moscow is establishing a socialist state. This circumstance is a stronger lever for world revolution than all the propaganda which the Third International might undertake.<sup>2</sup>

In summarizing the indications of communism on a world-wide scale Williams says:

Some of us cannot conceive that democracy is a lost cause, or even a 'forlorn hope' - we believe that democracy is the best hope of mankind, and that liberty is beyond price. And we shall never leave off fighting for them.<sup>3</sup>

A large number of persons see this outcome, vaguely, but they never take it seriously. A few people, who are taking this matter very seriously to-day, are taking definite steps toward the solution of the problem. Pahlow suggests that:

The reports that come out of Russia are so conflicting that it is difficult to find out what has taken place there since 1917. Nevertheless this much seems to clear, namely, that

<sup>1</sup> Maurice Parmelee, Liberal Dem., Fascism and Communism, 53.

<sup>2</sup> Fischer, Louis, "Russia Points the Way" - in Recovery Through Revolution by Schmalhausen.

<sup>3</sup> Ira Jewell Williams, "The Future of Dem. in the U. S." Ann. of Am. Acad., July, '35.



the Communist experiment is the greatest challenge that the western-European capitalistic system has ever had. Communism is discussed in all quarters of the globe. Being a set of ideas, it cannot be suppressed by force but can be successfully combated only by a better set of ideas. Western capitalistic democracy will have to show, for example, that it can provide work for all who wish to work and that in other ways it can make for greater happiness among men than Communism can, otherwise Europe west of Russia will be strongly tempted to go the way of Russia.<sup>1</sup>

Schmalhausen gives the same importance to the Russian experiment, although he views it in a different light, when he says:

The Russian experiment is the most important social phenomena in the world to-day. It should be welcomed and studied with attention and interest beyond that which the world gives to the measurement of light or the discovery of cosmic rays, for on its results hang immediate decisions affecting the problem of human well-being for men now alive.<sup>2</sup>

In indicating again and in proving that communism is a world problem G. D. H. Cole says:

It is a matter of agreement between politicians and business men seeking to restore the world order of Capitalism, and Socialism aiming at its replacement by a new order, that the problems of the present can be dealt with only by simultaneous and coördinated action on a stage as large as the world itself.<sup>3</sup>

In the January, 1937 issue of the Military and Naval Digest an interesting statement gives us new light and leads to further thinking.

The outstanding recent event in the rapidly moving European picture, is the acknowledgment by Germany and Japan of the signing of the agreement to combat communism. The pact was immediately viewed with suspicion by the democratic nations and Russia. The pact gave further proof that the Fascist

<sup>1</sup> Edwin Pahlow, Man's Great Adventures, 818.

<sup>2</sup> S. D. Schmalhausen, Recovery Through Revolution, 17.

<sup>3</sup> G. D. H. Cole, "The Dêbâcle of Capitalism", (from Schmalhausen), 25.



bloc is now a going concern more widespread and effective than the Communist International. Many interpretations are given to the signing of the treaty, but the significance lies in the fact that it is another move in the sequence of events which have taken place in different parts of the world indicative of a definite cleavage of ideas of government.<sup>1</sup>

As this author indicates, that "Fascism does or will outrate any other system in importance", it gives reason for the fear which the communists have of Fascism and of the need for world action in dealing with the formation of political groups.

<sup>1</sup> Military and Naval Digest, Jan., 1937.



CHAPTER V  
THE INFLUENCE OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL  
IN THE UNITED STATES

The United States has not, as yet, been greatly influenced by the Fascist system. As her system and that of other countries is being definitely challenged in the struggle between Communism and Capitalism, the future of American plans, ideas, and ideals depend upon the outcome, and, therefore, we take them into consideration. "It is a commonplace to say to-day that America stands at a crossroads."<sup>1</sup> Henry A. Wallace, in trying to understand the situation to-day, and, therefore, estimate the situation in the future says:

The United States is like a boy of eighteen years old, possessed of excellent health and a strong body, but so unsettled in his mind and his feelings that he doesn't know what to do next.<sup>2</sup>

He continues by saying:

The tragic joke on the United States is that we went to bed as a pioneer debtor nation in 1914 and woke up after a nightmare of world madness as a presumably mature creditor nation in 1920. We were full grown in the same sense that the boy of eighteen is full grown. But ever since 1920 that boy of eighteen has been playing in a sandpile.<sup>3</sup>

Everyone agrees that the last few years have been puzzling. New theories, new deals, and unusual action have been

<sup>1</sup> Maxwell Stewart, Ann. of Am. Acad. July '34, 60.

<sup>2</sup> Henry A. Wallace, New Frontiers, 3.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, 5.



put forward with little satisfaction. Pitkin in his book entitled A Chance of a Lifetime says:

You now behold the beginnings of the greatest revolution in all history. Too young to realize the full truth of this statement, you still may grasp enough of it to guide yourselves through the next fifty years.<sup>1</sup>

Wallace in speaking to the Lost Generation, as he calls the muddled youth of to-day, states:

Youth confronts a dismal wilderness, not of trees and bears and red Indians, but of crumbling houses, back streets swarming with gangsters much viler than red Indians, crushing debts, impossibly high taxes, corrupt politicians and a miscellany of stupid people, desperate people, and cowardly people from whom neither aid nor sympathy is to be drawn.<sup>2</sup>

Most people in the United States want the following things according to Pitkin, (To)-

1. live long.
2. remain healthy from birth to death;
3. be secure in the midst of dangers;
4. have friends and lovers;
5. travel up and down the world at leisure;
6. enjoy the widest possible variety of experiences;
7. think well of oneself, at least to the extent of preserving one's self-respect;
8. stand well in one's community.

He is convinced, also, that the Lost Generation must lead the way.-

The Machine Age passes. The Power Age arrives. The change strikes deep into every man's life. All careers must flow through new channels, many of which have not yet been cut. To find the best courses for these channels and then to lay

<sup>1</sup> Walter Pitkin, A Chance of a Lifetime, 87.

<sup>2</sup> Henry A. Wallace, New Frontiers.



them out is a ten year task, full of surprises and high achievements. I envy you the fun!<sup>1</sup>

The world, in his estimation is a new world, one that will require new standards and new actions. Not all people are producers to-day nor will they ever be again. A new plan must be made for these people.

For the crisis to-day is no ordinary business depression. It is revolution - not prospective but actual. The changes of the past two years (1933-34) are nearly as profound as those which took place in Russia after the overthrow of the wabbling, degenerate Romanoffs and their feeble court clique. One competent business man, no matter how strong, cannot long support the burden of fourteen incompetents. We must decide boldly whether we sink with the fourteen on our backs, or keep afloat without them.<sup>2</sup>

The organizers must decide whether they are going to face the situation with a definite plan or whether they will continue wondering and guessing as the majority of the people have been in the last few years. It is a problem that will involve men, thinking, dollars, and sacrifices. Pitkin says that in looking at a number of chickens within their coops, he was reminded of the great middle class in America who have as much to do with their future as the chickens do on their way to execution. They have hopes but they do not know how to put them into practice.

Many persons say to-day that capitalism cannot carry on.

It is not too much to say that a world conspiracy, looking to the overthrow of all governments has been in the process of formation for many years. There is another class of 'assistant Bolsheviki' which deserves special attention. I refer to those numerous and noisy agitators who for years have gone

<sup>1</sup> Walter Pitkin, A Chance of a Lifetime, 100.

<sup>2</sup> Walter Pitkin, Capitalism Carries On, 51 and 58.



about undermining the respect and reverence of our people for law and for the institutions of government.<sup>1</sup>

Russell says:

Bolshevism is not a disease of the brain that is confined to the latitude of Russia, but a product of certain conditions. Bolshevism is a protest against what men consider a great, organized and intolerable wrong.<sup>2</sup>

Many intellectual people have observed these wrongs and have backed the activities of the proletariat in working against them, but, as yet, it has not seemed wise for them to take the initial step themselves.

At the present time, with the strong wealthy class of men in power, it is not wise to take steps that might be considered radical. This is particularly true, it seems, of college professors and such people, who have every right to speak but who must not speak, at least too loudly, if they wish to keep the job which many other men would like to have. This is just another evidence of the need for reform. The direction for the reform, however, is a question to most people. According to Rawton:

The difficulty we are in is to make it clear that while we are against the communists in their acceptance of proletarianism, we are also against the capitalists in as much as they it was who brought proletarians into existence.<sup>3</sup>

One trembles to think what would have happened to a large number of intellectuals if the communist experiment in Russia had failed before 1924; the flight to Moscow was so headlong that if Moscow had not existed one imagines intellectuals would have drowned themselves fanatically off the shore of the

<sup>1</sup> Edwin Wioldman, Reconstructing America, 268, 269.

<sup>2</sup> C. A. Russell, (in Reconstructing America), 1.

<sup>3</sup> Arthur Rawton, "Class War and Communism", Cath. World, March '36.



Atlantic.<sup>1</sup>

Not a few excellent writers, "embraced it because Communism seemed to them to give the promise of a free and expanding life. It was as if they were willing to give up their creativeness and their freedom in order to insure it for others."<sup>2</sup>

Thomas suggests that:

The thing that is wrong with mankind is not the failure of one man or of one party. It is the failure of the system under which we live. That system is determined by the loyalty and institution of capitalism and nationalism. Under it, no deal, old or new, can give us plenty and peace, freedom and brotherhood. These things are denied by the nature of the system.<sup>3</sup>

Consequently, he sees no way to improve the system as long as we attempt to live with the same principles and the same objectives. Even a modification, within certain definite limits, will come closer to satisfying the people and giving them what they need than the present system does.

Sherwood Eddy lists what he considers the evils of the capitalistic system as follows:

1. Private ownership and a proletarian army of dependents.
2. Surplus profits for the owners with recurring under-consumption, growing crisis, and depression for the workers.
3. Unequal wealth and "security" for the few: Unemployment, poverty, and insecurity for the many.
4. Capitalism provides palaces, country houses, and summer resorts for the rich: city slums, foreclosed mortgages; lost farms and homes for the poor.

<sup>1</sup> George Seldes, The Years of Locust, 331.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 332.

<sup>3</sup> Norman Thomas, "Vote Socialist", Christian Century, Sept. 30, 1936, 1283.



5. The power of credit, manipulation, and "easy money" for the few; the growth of crime, racketeering and lawlessness among the poor who are now also seeking "easy money".

6. Competitive capitalism creates class conflict and recurring wars: the capitalistic system is inevitably a war system.

Lenin takes the argument farther by saying:

All Socialists, in explaining the class character of bourgeois civilization, of bourgeois democracy, of bourgeois parliamentarianism, have expressed the thought which Marx and Engels spoke out with the greatest scientific exactness when they said that the most democratic bourgeois republic is nothing else but a machine for the suppression of the working class by the bourgeoisie, of the mass of toilers by a handful of capitalists.<sup>1</sup>

Later on in his pamphlet, he says:

Any Marxist, even any person acquainted with modern science in general, if you asked him: 'Is the even, or harmonious and proportional transition of different capitalist countries to the dictatorship of the proletariat likely?' - would undoubtedly have answered this question in the negative. Neither evenness, nor harmony, nor proportion have ever existed in the world of capitalism or ever could exist.<sup>2</sup>

Stalin says:

They talk about democracy. But what is democracy? Democracy in capitalist countries where there are antagonistic classes is in the last analysis the democracy for the strong, democracy for the propertied minority.<sup>3</sup>

Whether a person regards himself as a conservative or a communist, he is very apt to agree with Stalin on this point.

The freedom for which our forefathers fought and struggled often means freedom for just the few. Probably that will always be true to a certain extent, but it does not need to be as true as it is to-day.

<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, The Foundation of the Communist International, 1934, 74.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 29.

<sup>3</sup> Joseph Stalin, The New Soviet Constitution, (1936), 23.



Edward Magnus says:

Capitalism to-day is not merely passing through 'another' economic crisis, which differs from those that preceded it only by being more intense and more prolonged. Since the World War, capitalism has been plunged into a state of general crisis, from which it cannot emerge. Business may recover somewhat (as has happened) from the lowest depths of the economic crisis, but it cannot ever return again to a period of prosperity and renewed expansion. Its profits must be squeezed, more than ever, from the life blood of the workers. The unalterable operation of the laws of capitalism has exhausted the purchasing power of its markets, and the machines, which under capitalism cannot move without a profit, are condemned to idleness.<sup>1</sup>

In a system in which there is practically no regard for the welfare of the other person, there is bound to be trouble. People are too closely related and their interests are too near the same to make the present attitude and feeling between the capitalists and workers satisfactory. They may have to consider making a living but first they should consider living. Magnus continues his argument by saying:

What can the professional worker expect of capitalism? The situation which we have considered is no temporary abnormal condition, but the direct result of the operation of capitalism itself. There is no possibility for any recovery which can open up the old opportunities again. The economic crisis through which we have been passing is different from all others that have gone before it. It is not merely longer and more intense, but there is a hopelessness about it such as never existed before. At least half of the unemployed will never find jobs under capitalism - this is the blunt admission of every capitalist economist. It is doubtful if capitalism will ever succeed in reducing the present unemployment at all. 'Business recovery' does not mean recovery for the professional workers, because it can take place only at the expense of the workers and farmers and the petty businessmen, who are the consumers of their services. We are living through a depression of a special kind, which gives no hope for renewed capitalist expansion.

The only kind of promise that capitalism gives - and this becomes clearer every day - is that one of the arming gangs of

<sup>1</sup> Edward Magnus, Professionals in a Soviet America, 4.



imperialist robbers will soon begin another world war, in a desperate effort to save itself again at the expense of the workers. When that happens, there will be jobs for many professionals: risky jobs, badly paid, asking them to degrade their skills by using them for murder and destruction. That is the only kind of jobs which capitalism will be able to offer the professionals.<sup>1</sup>

As an example of what he is saying regarding capitalism, Magnus chooses the present administration.

The N. R. A. is another example of the restrictive and destructive planning which is the only kind of planning possible under capitalism. Cattle are slaughtered, cotton is destroyed, fertile fields are left uncultivated, the installation of labor-saving devices is prohibited - all following the mad plan that prosperity can be restored if prices are made to rise when those who need meat and clothes and bread are unable to buy them at the present prices.<sup>2</sup>

In referring to the presidential elections as the indications of the feelings of the people, Browder says:

The Central Committee of the Communist Party, in its statement summarizing the election results, therefore, declared: 'The campaign and the election results clearly show the sharpening of class lines in the United States. On the one side stood the great mass of the voting population. On the other stood an unprecedented concentration of organized wealth and reaction. Never before was the political struggle so much a question of the poor and downtrodden against the rich and the oppressors.'<sup>3</sup>

Dan W. Gilbert, in an attempt to find a way for capitalism says:

Indeed, this idea that American capitalists are super-strategists is the base upon which nightmares of fascism are builded. While I think it is a demonstrable mistake to attribute either great cunning or deep-laid strategy or fascist intentions to our American business men, it is no doubt true that the future of our nation depends to a considerable degree upon the attitude and activities of men of means.

1 Edward Magnus, Professionals in a Soviet America, 16.

2 Ibid, 22.

3 Earl Browder, "The Presidential Elections in the U. S." The Communist International, Dec. '36., 1584.



Some one has said that all revolutions are made by upper middle-class. Communist revolutions are the result of their stupidity and fascist revolutions are derived from their sagacity. If that proposition be accepted, I think it is plain that we are more in danger of a communist than a fascist revolution. Certainly, our capitalists are showing more stupidity than sagacity. Whether their stupidity is a result of their inability or to their refusal to face the situation in America to-day, I shall not endeavor to say. I only know that they are not facing it. They are ignoring and even, blindly or fatuously, financing the very forces and activities which are making for communism in the United States.<sup>1</sup>

The present situation is not the result of ignorance nor lack of training in any respect. It is the lack of interest, in most cases, or a deliberate attempt to gain one's own selfish wishes. No one can deny that this is an age of educational opportunities, presented in many forms. What are the people doing with this information and this wisdom which they should have under the circumstances? Perhaps a large amount of blame could be laid upon the uncertainty of the times. However, one has to be very broadminded and sympathetic to believe this.

Ruth Katherine Byrns stated in November, 1936:

We accept as a readily apparent fact, then, that one effective way to fight Communism is to work for the correction of the abuses of the present system which are the sources of its vitality and to promote a better and more just social and economic program. That is where the fight against Communism must begin as far as the interest of the common man is concerned; it is for this field of battle that we need leadership and the weapons of straight thinking. If this is really as obvious as it appears to be, it should not be necessary for the common man and woman to beg for leadership.

Reformation, reconstruction, or revolution seems inevitable - no less so now than five or seven years ago - when we

<sup>1</sup> Dan W. Gilbert, "Capitalist, Colleges, and Communism," Cath. World, Sept. 1936, 702.



consider the shortcomings in the present system.<sup>1</sup>

In Russia the -

Teachers must look upon themselves as agents not only of general, but also communist education.

The moving picture, the theater, concerts, exhibitions, etc., in so far as they penetrate to the village (and every effort must be made to this end) must be used for communist propaganda, both directly, that is through their content, and also by coördinating them with lectures and meetings.<sup>2</sup>

Eddy upholds this idea by stating, "The schools must turn out not merely political agitators but trained workers and constructive leaders."<sup>3</sup> Those who earnestly support capitalism believe that we should carry on more propaganda for our own system than we do at the present time. No system can be a success without whole-hearted support. When more radical groups are spending large amounts of money to introduce their system and to impress its worth upon the youth, as well as the adults, capitalism must do something to assure herself of an equal chance. A certain restriction has been put on destructive propaganda within the schools, but usually no emphasis is laid on constructive ideas.

It is not surprising that there is not an active program in the schools supporting capitalism (if this is the proper action) when the adult program is examined closely. Vizetelly, in The New International Year Book for 1935, says:

<sup>1</sup> Ruth Katherine Byrns, "Communism and the Common Man", Cath. World, Nov. '36., 143.

<sup>2</sup> "The Communist Party in Russia and its Relations to the Third International and to the Russian Soviets," International Conciliation.

<sup>3</sup> Sherwood Eddy, Russia To-day, 104.



While trouble between the two factions of the Socialist Party and other activities of this type were being carried on, Communist agitators were reported to be active among government relief workers, military and naval forces, sharecroppers of the United States, the itinerant fruit pickers of California, and many other working class groups. Their activities were accompanied by an apparently increasing demand on the part of conservative civic and patriotic organizations for legal steps to suppress or obstruct communist agitation. Secretary of the Navy Swanson, as well as various army and navy officers, appeared before a House Committee at Washington in support of a bill to curb communist propaganda. A subsequent survey, however, indicated that danger of such propaganda in the navy was negligible. In response to the Comintern's announced plans for boring from within the conservative labor unions, the American Federation of Labor amended its constitution so as to bar communists from State and central labor bodies, formally aligned itself with the American Legion in the latter's fight against communism and other subversive influences, and selected Minneapolis as the scene of its first drive to 'purge' labor organizations of communist influences.<sup>1</sup>

As the army and navy are considered essential for the support of the United States, the communist activities among the different groups may appear more serious later than they do to-day. Perhaps the opinions of those who fear this outcome are not as well posted as they should be. If there is a satisfactory amount of precaution being taken regarding communist activities within the labor organizations, that is a good sign. There is no doubt about the outcome of such a system.

While there has been a feeling that the farmer has not been given a fair deal, at the same time the farmer has been criticized because he has not been progressive enough, because he has not become organized, and because he has not stood up for his rights. Some of the outstanding thinkers

<sup>1</sup> Frank H. Vizetelly, The New International Year Book, (1935), 162.



and observers realize that communistic activities are influencing them very definitely. The farmers' greatest weakness lies in his inability to recognize the changing trend of affairs or in their failure to act as a group when difficulties arise.

People of the United States have been criticized because of their race prejudice and their attitude toward the negro. With the understanding that America has of other cultures and the appreciation which Americans have for the better things in other respects, it is strange that they can take such an attitude toward the negroes.

Along with the attitude toward the negroes and the foreigners, who were welcomed when they first arrived and were necessary, is the attitude which has been taken against some of the radicals in the United States. The outstanding case of apparent injustice that has been greatly criticized is the Sacco Vanzetti Case. Eugene Lyons in his book on The Life and Death of Sacco and Vanzetti, has proven, in every way possible, that these two men were innocent, that they were falsely accused from the very beginning and that they represent the helpless individuals within the United States that are arrested, for one reason or another, and then are made to pay the price whether they are guilty or not. Lyons says: Their execution was not a miscarriage of justice. It was a deliberate, indeed a formal carrying out of justice such as it is in the society of to-day.<sup>1</sup>

The two men in sending messages to the people said:

<sup>1</sup> Eugene Lyons, The Life and Death of Sacco and Vanzetti, 188



But let us speak to you also of life. Comrades and friends, be of good cheer and brave heart. Do not yield or stop for a second to sorrow or defeat. The enemy can imprison, torture, kill some or many of us, destroy our homes, our poor few books and our institutions, but the enemy cannot destroy ideas, rights, truths, or causes.<sup>1</sup>

After their deaths the Boston Herald declared:

It has been a famous case. It has attracted the attention of the world to an extent quite without recent precedent. It has presented phases which no serious student of our public affairs could fail to regret. But the time for such a discussion is over. The chapter is closed. The die is cast. The arrow has flown. Now let us go forward to the duties and responsibilities of the common day with a renewed determination to maintain our present system of government and our existing social order.<sup>2</sup>

A very insignificant case that originally caused no comment and very little publicity became a world-wide affair, particularly because it represented the expression of justice in certain parts of the United States and because it concerned persons who were supposed to be communists plotting against the stability of our present order. If the case has done nothing else, it has caused certain people to determine to repay Sacco and Vanzetti for the loss of their lives by working for real justice. Other cases which have been settled or are in the process of being settled are creating a similar interest, proving that capitalism itself is on trial.

Among those who see a sudden change in the near future is Schmalhausen who has written and collected articles by other authors on Recovery Through Revolution. He says: It will be noted that revolution is to-day generally credited

<sup>1</sup> Op. Cit., 190.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 205.



with the worthy aim of achieving a better world - a world without exploitation, oppression and war, and that criticism is directed either to the impossibility of building such a world upon the foundation of human nature, or to the means employed in such construction. As for the first, it is enough to say that if the alternative lie, as all signs indicate, between the achievement of a better world and the annihilation of civilization, then humanity with its instinct for survival will take the revolutionary course. There are two reasons, however, why believers in revolution in the United States may reject for themselves the technique of violence. One is that it is futile against the organized and equipped defenders of the existing order. Karl Marx held that a necessary preliminary to a revolution by violence was the permeation of the army by the revolutionary spirit, and this condition is one of the last likely to be fulfilled. No revolution has ever succeeded in the face of a convinced and determined exercise of power by those in possession of it. Only when the old order is thoroughly rotten and ready to fall of its own weight does successful revolution occur, as in France in 1789, and in Russia in 1917.

A second reason why believers in revolution may deprecate the resort to violence is that the possessing class is so ready to invoke it. Indeed, a significant evidence of a weakening of confidence in the present social order is the disposition of its upholders to discard the principle of free discussion which is essential to the liberal philosophy and the democratic process.<sup>1</sup>

Fischer says:

Communism has gained some ground in many countries during the last few years. But compared to the intensity of the capitalistic economic crisis, the millions of unemployed and the helplessness of bourgeois leadership, the gain, except in Germany, has been trifling. Capitalism still has at its disposal large reserves of material, men, money, and hope. The last is perhaps more effective than any other. People will not take steps to destroy the present system as long as they hope that it will someday again yield the comparative plenty of the past. People, moreover, hesitate to tilt their lances against the present as long as the future remains uncertain. Soviet Russia is the test of that future. Final conviction can come only in the shape of a nation so happy and prosperous that arguments and words about superiority become superfluous. Otherwise, the revolt against capitalism must wait until capitalism's reserves are exhausted and hope yields to despair.<sup>2</sup>

1 Samuel D. Schmalhausen, Recovery Through Revolution, 15.

2 Louis Fischer, (from Schmalhausen), 61.



Of late, there has arisen among American literary men a strong trend toward Marxism, strong, that is to say, by comparison with the total absence of a trend in the recent past, for of the few pre-war Marxists in the Socialist party, some were reduced to silence by socialist leaders, while others welcomed the opportunity which the War gave them to correct the errors of their youth, break completely with their past, and go over bag and baggage to the enemy. The new and still very young group of Marxists have before them the glorious task and opportunity of bringing about the intellectual revolution of which America stands in such need, and without which no social and political revolution is even thinkable. We cannot oppose, nor can we pretend to ignore, the great Russian Revolution without paying for it heavily in loss of trade and increased unemployment, as well as in an access of power to the conservative and reactionary elements among our own people. We cannot stand out against a world. We cannot cut loose from Europe. Russia is in the van, but Europe, the whole earth is in motion. The old order is dying. It cannot be saved in America. Much depends on the attitude of the American proletariat. Its weight thrown on the side of the revolution would be tremendous. The American proletariat has not yet declared itself. It was deluded by prosperity, it is now stunned by adversity. Sooner or later it will declare itself, range itself with the communist workers of Europe. The day of that declaration will be the last day of the reign of capital on this goodly earth.<sup>1</sup>

Lenin appreciated the significance of the American revolutionary tradition. He recognized the importance of building upon that tradition. He wrote:

The best representatives of the American proletariat are those expressing the revolutionary tradition in the life of the American people.. This tradition originated in the war of liberation against the English in the eighteenth century and in the Civil War in the nineteenth century. Where can you find an American so pedantic, so absolutely idiotic as to deny the revolutionary and progressive significance of the American Civil War of 1860-65? The American revolutionary tradition which the American masses will quickest understand, and which to neglect, as has been done in the past, is to hinder rather than help the cause of the Second American revolution.<sup>2</sup>

Corey expresses his view along this line by saying:

<sup>1</sup> Herman Simpson, Whither these States? 364, 366.

<sup>2</sup> V. F. Calverton, "American Revolutionary History", (from Schmalhausen), 388.



Revolutions are inevitable. That was the conclusion of a bourgeois scholar whose study of the 'natural history' of revolution was issued in 1927. The development of social economic and class forces reaches a point where revolutionary change becomes inescapable. The conclusion was thus amplified:

'This country, in common with all others in which the industrial revolution has developed, is destined to evolve through capitalism into some sort of social control of industry.

'A laboring man of to-day - except, perhaps, in Russia is a person still insignificant compared with the capitalist. But through the agency of his organizations he is superior to the farmer. The laboring man seems destined to be the ruler of the future.

'We may take it for granted that revolutions, even violent revolutions, will occur periodically for a long time to come. We hear some talk about substituting peaceable evolution for violent revolution, but such talk is only what the theologians call 'pious opinion' - laudable, but imaginative. No technology is being developed for the purpose of translating this talk into action.'<sup>1</sup>

The scholarly student of revolution himself insisted that revolution was not an American issue:

'It is certain, almost to the point of mathematical demonstration, that there is no possibility of a violent revolution within any future that need cause concern to persons now entirely absent from our society. The immediate symptoms of revolution are entirely absent from our society. The remote symptoms, if they exist at all, are so slight as to be unrecognizable.'<sup>2</sup>

Those who agree that the world is in a period of revolution, and who feel that communism will be the way of the future, have expressed this idea in various ways. For instance, Pitkin says:

The Republicans are too narrowly a Big Money crowd. The Democrats are a little bit of everything and not much of anything - snake and saint, round and square, crooked and straight. But the sixty-five million outcasts have a simple platform and a common interest. 'Go and Get It.' As the Have

1 Lewis Corey, "Revolutions Old and New", (from Schmalhausen) 391.

2 Ibid, 392.



Nots, they find unity in despair.- Will they find leaders? Overnight a Lenin may lift his head out of the murk.<sup>1</sup>

Godden feels that:

This London Congress was faithfully following out Dimitrov's famous injunction, at the Seventh World Congress in Moscow, to all Communists throughout the world; to adopt the Trojan maneuver of penetrating the enemy ranks, concealed inside a harmless exterior. The Iron Horse of Dimitrov will certainly be transhipped across the Atlantic for active service in the American United Front Campaign.<sup>2</sup>

There is no question about the fact that the communists consider the prevalence of strikes very important and that they will take advantage of the situation.

"Napolean had said that a century after his death the world would be dominated by America or by Russia; but we have never admitted an alternative."<sup>3</sup> The majority of people feel that the American system is the most efficient, the most scientific, and the most satisfying system existing. There are enough doubters, however, to make the real supporters of Americanism frightened. In answer to this state of mind, Eddy says:

Have we no faith in our own form of government and its institutions and privileges that we think a handful of communists could so easily overthrow it? Why should the American working man, with his high wages, his automobile, his home, his liberty, his many privileges wish to exchange them for the poverty, the hardships and the dictatorship of Russia? If we are afraid of unemployment, surely we are rich enough to do for our unemployed what a score of advanced industrial nations have done, and set our own house in order without any thought or fear of Bolshevism.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Walter A. Pitkin, Capitalism Carries On, 15.

<sup>2</sup> G. M. Godden, (from Schmalhausen), 150.

<sup>3</sup> George Seldes, The Years of Locust, 118.

<sup>4</sup> Sherwood Eddy, The Challenge of Russia, 154.



Roy W. Howard, President of the Scripps - Howard Newspaper (in 1934) agreed with Eddy in saying, "Personally, I think the menace of Bolshevism in the United States is about as great as the menace of sunstroke in Greenland or chilblains in the Sahara."

Henry A. Wallace says:

I am hoping that we can advance by means of an aroused, educated Democracy. Socialism, Communism, and Fascism, it is true, have the advantage of certain precise rules not available to Democracy. They make the path seem by comparison long and tortuous. But the point is that most Americans think less rigid rules and the clash of free opinion allowed by Democracy will in the long run take us farther than will the precise, decisive dogma of Communism or Fascism. - So do I.<sup>1</sup>

When giving advice to the younger generation, which Pitkin calls the Lost Generation, he says:

Stick to common sense during the next two years. It will serve you best. Turn deaf ears, to reformers who urge you to turn Communism or Socialism. Refuse even to debate with them. Not because you reject their creeds and platforms, but simply because you have on your hands a major operation in which every minute counts. Delay only a little, and the patient may die under the ether.

To convert the American people to a new form of government would require years. We are the most conservative nation, mainly because we have long been the most prosperous. When a man is pretty comfortable, he does not care to change his way of life. He would be a fool to scorn the old rule of 'let well enough alone.'<sup>2</sup>

Russia has always been particularly interested in America because of her situation, because of her development, and because of what she has to offer Russia. Hindus, in 1932, attempted to list all of the main reasons as follows:

<sup>1</sup> Henry Wallace, New Frontiers, 19.

<sup>2</sup> Walter Pitkin, A Chance of a Lifetime, 22.



1. Because of geographical position - they haven't stood on each others feet.

2. The name of America has never been discredited in Russia in social and political literature.

3. During the days of the recent famine, America fed millions of Russians all over the country.<sup>1</sup>

4. Immigrants from Russia have provided succor for their relatives.

5. Hundreds of thousands of Russians are reposing faith in salvation from ruin in the possibility of obtaining through the aid of American relatives a knitting, sewing, or some other kind of machines with which to earn their own living with their own hands and in their own homes.<sup>2</sup>

6. Need of funds for her huge industrialization plan makes her more friendly with America.

7. Fear of war - which haunts her - draws her to America.

8. America is opposed to European war because of investments, if not anything else.

9. America led to the idea of Russian territorial unity.

10. Keep Japan from settling in Siberian territory.

11. While the Russians are incompetent, etc., "the very word American in Russian parlance implies competence, responsibility, punctuality, accuracy, diligence. To work like an American means to work well with zest, tenacity, economy of energy and materials. America has replaced Germany as a symbol of exemplary service. America to Russia is the great god Brown of achievement."<sup>3</sup>

12. Impressed with American machines.

13. America may be reactionary, capitalistic, imperialistic. She may be executing Sacco and Vanzetti, but she can produce as no nation in the world. She is the mistress of the machine. She has much, therefore, very much to teach Russia, more than any other nation, and Russia, insists the revolutionary, shall and must learn from

<sup>1</sup> Maurice Hindus, Humanity Uprooted, 368.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 362.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, 367.



America, if she is to realize her social and economic destiny.<sup>1</sup>

While ardent supporters of the American system have upheld our present system, from the very beginning, others have shown a need for change. Hanson, in speaking of the strike which took place in Seattle as early as 1918, says: The meeting finally decided:

That the time is ripe for the overthrow of our Government - ripe for the establishment in its place of a soviet government similar to the one in operation in Russia.

That the Government should be overthrown by peaceable means if possible; but that if resistance was encountered, force and violence of whatever character necessary should be used.

That the lumber woods of Washington had the best organized band of revolutionists in the United States, that the beginning must be made where these men could help.

That a general strike in Seattle should immediately follow the shipyard strike, which would be spread to many different localities, finally resulting in the overthrow of our Government and the placing in power, as dictators, some of the very men present.<sup>2</sup>

Although Miss Byrns approaches the situation from another standpoint and has different aims in mind, she feels the need for a change. She says:

They choose Communism not because they recognize it as vicious, not because it is atheistic or anti-christian but because they are tired of empty stomachs and sweatshops, wages and relief rolls; discouraged with transient camps and the hopelessness of looking for work; despairing of a chance to make a decent living. They turn to Communism because they are victims of the evils in the system under which...a small number of very rich men have been able to lay upon the masses of the poor a yoke little better than slavery itself.

For uncounted millions of American men and women the present

<sup>1</sup> Op. Cit., 369.

<sup>2</sup> Ole Hanson, Americanism versus Bolshevism, 61.



economic system means hunger, cold, despair, lack of security; freedom means the choice of starving or going on relief; liberty is the right to remain in one transient camp or move on to another; equality means only the sharing of miseries with millions of other job-seekers. These men and women see Communism opposing the social system which, though upheld for the most part by persons who call themselves Christians, is so outrageously lacking in the Christian virtues.<sup>1</sup>

Darling, in attempting to answer the question, "What are the Russians working for?" comes very close to Miss Byrns interpretation of the whole aim. "World revolution or better clothes and food and some of the comforts of life? After just one look at them the answer is obvious. They are working for shoes and clothes and better food."<sup>2</sup>

Strachey takes for granted that a change is necessary, but he disagrees with the fundamental ideas of many who are advocating a new or better system. He says:

But communism does not offer itself to mankind as a sort of painless and patent cure for all the ills of the universe. The essential argument in its favour is rather that it is the one method by which human civilization can be maintained at all.<sup>3</sup>

Those who are living a life of comparative ease find it difficult to understand Strachey's position, yet, anyone who is eager to improve conditions within the United States will be challenged by Strachey's statement.

Dennis, in considering a Fascist America says:

Need I run over the bill of particulars to substantiate the proposition that the present system no longer works, and that the changes now being inaugurated in this country are not reforms calculated to restore the system to normal operating

1 Ruth Katherine Byrns, "Communism and the Common Man", The Catholic World, Nov., 1936., 142

2 Joy N. Darling, Ding Goes to Russia, 139.

3 John Strachey, The Coming Struggle for Power, 357.



efficiency?

Two things are certain: (1) The Government cannot go on financing a curtailment of production without lowering the national standard of living and without thereby increasing the violence of popular discontent; (2) the Government cannot go on financing curtailment of production, the maintenance of artificial price levels, the solvency of insolvent railroads and financial institutions, and a growing army of destitute unemployed all by the process of borrowing.

There is not a serious-minded man in the country who would long keep his head on if he tried to put the country through the wringer of orderly capitalistic readjustment. Therefore, I say that the system is doomed and no longer works. The plea of conservatives for a return to the Constitution is absurd when the strict enforcement of constitutional property rights would precipitate civil war.

Every economic adjustment to-day rests on Government interventions in new and innumerable forms. Therefore, I say we are headed towards fascism, communism, or chaos.<sup>1</sup>

Although he takes the fascist as well as the communist plan into consideration he represents the feelings of a large number of persons who see a new era in the future. In regard to the contribution which communism has to offer Hindus says:

Yet when he (an observer) encounters the new culture that the Revolution is creating and observes the new human being that is emerging out of it, he stands in awe of its transcendent powers. He sees the process of transformation take place before his very eyes, and he can find nothing in all human history that is comparable to it.<sup>2</sup>

Most reformers, in agreeing to the value of the Russian system, will cite the needs of a similar system because of the present unsatisfactory conditions, because of our present attitude toward the negroes, because of the assistance given to children, or because of the chance given to the proletariat. At

<sup>1</sup> Lawrence Dennis, "Fascism for America", Annals of Amer. Acad. July, 1935., 65.

<sup>2</sup> Maurice Hindus, The Great Offensive, 315.



the same time they stress the importance of building up a truly American system, and they feel that this is a possibility. Some men are not convinced that a very superior system is existing in any country, still they see an absolute need for change. Veblen says:

It is not that a better scheme has been devised and is ready to be put in place of the existing system, but only that the existing system is proving itself potentially unfit to take care of the country's industrial and the material fortunes of its population.<sup>1</sup>

He continues by saying:

Human nature being what it is, and the state of the industrial arts being such as it has now become, the established order of ownership and control is no longer fit to manage the country's industries in such a way as to yield a decent livelihood for the country's population.<sup>2</sup>

In Russia it may well be that the house had to be destroyed and then rebuilt. In the United States this is not true, and we Americans must all stand together to defend that democratic system under which, in ordered liberty of the people, our people have prospered and been happy. We have not yet attained our ideal of social justice, but I honestly believe that more people get a square deal, a fair and equal opportunity in the United States than in any other country in the world. We shall reach the ideal far more quickly by marching forward than by tearing down in the hope of building something better.<sup>3</sup>

When people suggest the adopting of the communist system in the United States they often suggest the Russian method, forgetting that the situations are entirely different and that, consequently, the plan for adjustment must be made on an entirely different basis. They do not consider seriously, the

<sup>1</sup> Thorstein Veblen, Essays on our Changing Order, 447.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 448.

<sup>3</sup> William R. Castle Jr., "Russia: Conclusions of a Statesman", Ann. of Am. Acad., July, '34, 161.



workers, the middle class, and the standard of living which play such a vital part in this plan. In searching for a better plan Duranty says:

The objection to communism from the American viewpoint is that it is not only foreign but coercive and is therefore repugnant to our love of personal independence. The Bolsheviks claim that no permanent collectivism is possible so long as private interest has any control over production and the means of production, but to apply their system in America would undoubtedly cause no less violence and coercion than it did in Russia. The question arises whether it is not possible to develop an alternate collective system of our own. I believe that the "New Dealers" aiming at something of the kind. Unfortunately, Messrs. Tugwell and Company do not seem to realize that the methods they are applying are socialistic methods, that they are in effect putting the new wine of Socialism into the old bottles of Capitalism. Capitalism and Socialism are contradictions and the Bolsheviks are quite right in believing that the two cannot be successfully combined. On the other hand, it is not necessarily true that Capitalism and collectivism are contradictions. Surely it would be easier and wiser of Capitalism to seek a remedy for its ills from its own children rather than from Socialism, its enemy.<sup>1</sup>

Masterson, too, believes that the United States would not be wise to adopt a system which was not built upon and originally planned for her own culture, for her own needs. The effects of a revolution would be particularly objectionable, in this respect, as the United States, or any conquered country, would be obligated to accept the Communist system whether it was suitable or not. In the American Mercury for March, 1936, Varney says:

The self-confident executive who, a few years ago, laughed at the suggestion that collectivism could ever seriously menace America is now prone to swing to the other extreme and to talk pugnaciously about vigilantes and the suppression of radicals by law. But he is still unwilling to face the fact that radicalism is an incalculable force in America, and that it can only be halted by a capitalism which is intellectually

<sup>1</sup> Walter Duranty, I Write as I Please, 311.



capable of pleading and proving its case before the jury of American public opinion.

A second major reason for the inaction of conservatives is the fact that the leaders of business are by no means a unit in opposing the collectivist drift. Few businessmen think of themselves as components of a "capitalistic system". Beyond the passage of denunciatory resolutions by such organizations as the Chamber of Commerce of the United States or the National Industrial Council, and half-hearted financial support of the Republican party, there is little disposition on the part of the American business to interest itself in anything outside its own bailiwick.<sup>1</sup>

Varney believes that although an unsatisfactory system were to be introduced, many men would be too interested in their own affairs to do anything about it.

The men now at the helm are primarily concerned with the maintenance of their jobs by assuring an uninterrupted dividend of stockholders; their minds run to stabilization rather than to political struggle. It is inevitable that such leaders should be disinterested in controversy with radical propagandists. Passively, they may sympathize with the forces combating the socialist tide, but this sympathy is not translated into action or support. Confronted by a Left-wing movement of fanatical enthusiasts and propagandists, capitalism, insofar as the typical corporation head symbolizes it, offers only an opposition of cold, spasmodic, ineffectiveness.<sup>2</sup>

The unexpected coming of the recent depression, with its far-reaching and outstanding results, the need for modifications with the changing of trends, and the influence of propaganda, in one form or another, is having a far greater effect upon our system than most people realize. It appears as if there were a lack of interest on the part of the people who are capable of producing a change and a lack of knowledge on the part of those who would make willing workers.

<sup>1</sup> Lord Harold Varney, "Are the Capitalists Asleep?", American Mercury, May, 1936, 267.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.



If we are to cause American political life to move Leftward, this must be based on the further growth, activity, organization and political maturity of the new progressive people's organizations, and especially the increased unity and hegemony of the organized labor movement within the broad people's movement. This is a reasonable perspective involving many tasks.<sup>1</sup>

The American Citizen, for April 20, 1937 expresses the view which many are taking regarding the seriousness of the situation within the United States to-day. The editor states that:

We become greatly concerned about a flood or a disaster of that sort, which we have a right to do, yet the United States of America to-day is facing a greater menace to its security and future than any flood or famine or pestilence conceived by nature. Throughout the length and breadth of our land the tide waters of red Communism are undermining the foundations of our most sacred and priceless possessions - individual liberty, human freedom, the Constitution itself and American ideals of equality and justice. The glorious principles of this democratic form of government are to-day being torn from their high standard by defiling hands of alien radicalism. There is no class or group of our social structure to-day that is untouched by the vicious, insidious propaganda emanating from red Moscow. Agents of Communism are working more or less openly in a thousand different fields. They are poisoning the minds of this nation's youth in schools and colleges where, in many cases, the teachers themselves are proponents of the doctrines of Marx and Lenin. Under the false banners of the 'brotherhood of man' and 'internationalism,' well-meaning but mislead church members and organizations are lending their support to forces that are definitely opposed to all established principles of Christianity and the church.

Our labor groups are being bombarded with theories which, hiding behind alleged principles of justice and equality, preach confiscation of property, disloyalty, conspiracy, class hatred and greed. There is no class in society, no group of workers in America to-day safe from the machinations of Communism. The worlds of art, drama, music, the theater and journalism are being invaded by Communists in the guise of 'parlor pinks.' Culture clubs, Congress itself, the very Army and Navy are riddled through by disciples of bolshevism and

<sup>1</sup> Earl Browder, "The Presidential Elections in the U. S.", The Communist International, Dec. '36., 1586.



revolution.<sup>1</sup>

If radical ideas are supreme in all of the organizations mentioned in the American Citizen and if it is becoming increasingly important in various fields, as is indicated in different opinions, surely something should be done about it immediately. Apparently, however, that is where the difficulty lies. Varney says:

The men now at the helm are primarily concerned with the maintenance of their jobs by assuring an uninterrupted dividend of stockholders; their minds run to stabilization rather than to political struggle. It is inevitable that such leaders should be disinterested in controversy with radical propagandists. Passively, they may sympathize with the forces combating the socialist tide, but this sympathy is not translated into action or support. Confronted by a Left-wing movement of fanatical enthusiasts and propagandists, capitalism, insofar as the typical corporation head symbolizes it, offers only an opposition of cold, spasmodic ineffectiveness.

Resulting from these deep-rooted states of mind is the third cause of capitalism's polemic impotence - the fact that it has no staff of trained propagandists. One of the most successful tricks of the radical speaker is to protest tearfully against the censorious iniquity of capitalist thought-control. But the irony of the situation is that propaganda power of the radical movement to-day is probably many times as effective as all the vaunted instrumentalities of capitalism. It is true, of course, that capitalist pressure can be concentrated with devastating strength in the face of specific situations - a threatened local strike, a national war crisis, a political assassination, etc. Yet there is no continuous vigilance on the part of capitalistic publicity agencies to combat the broader challenge of the collectivist drive. The counter-attacks are only intermittently effective. Except in rare crises, capitalist propaganda is outgeneralled, outmanned, and out-manuevered by its opponents on every front. It may seem paradoxical that a small radical minority could be capable of such a feat. The explanation, however, is that capitalism fails to maintain a staff of professional intellectual shock-troops comparable to the enemy propagandists. Instead, it depends upon untrained and irresponsible volunteers to combat talented men and women who have devoted a lifetime to polemics. In short, it is the old and unequal

<sup>1</sup> "The Menace of Communism", The American Citizen, Apr. 20, '37, 3.



battle of the amateur against the professional.<sup>1</sup>

Darling, in Ding Goes to Russia, emphasizes the fact that in Russia the people are constantly reminded of the evils and the dangers of capitalism. They are also trained to support their system to the fullest extent and to spread propaganda for the continuation of their system. But, if they are opposed to the system, they are to remain quiet. That is whether Russia and the United States differ!

There are those who still feel that the United States is being very unjustly limited in its attempts to arrive at the truth and to publish the truth once that it is found. This group represents those who are opposed to the large capitalist owners. Mr. Stevenson, representing those that feel that not enough action has been taken to restrict activities says, "In the first place, the foreign agitators should be deported; the bars should be put to exclude seditious literature from the country. American citizens that advocate revolution should be punished under a law drawn for that purpose."<sup>2</sup> Mr. Stevenson suggests a "counter-propaganda campaign, a campaign of education." He believes that this is necessary because "so long as the Bolsheviks control and dominate the millions of Europe, so long that is going to be a constant menace and encouragement to the radical and dissatisfied elements in this country."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lord Harold Varney, "Are the Capitalists Asleep?"  
American Mercury, Mar. 1936, 269.

<sup>2</sup> Paul Miliukov, Bolshevism: An International Danger, 282.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.



A large number of persons feel that they are helpless under the present situation because they cannot act nor advocate unless they keep within certain well-recognized limits. What would be accomplished along these lines if there were not restrictions is hard to estimate. As far as schools are concerned, at any rate, we are attempting to teach persons to think for themselves, to develop broad-mindedness, and to live unselfishly. Only the future will prove whether the intentions have been well taken. Eddy says, "In America children are taught reverence to the constitution, in Russia for Communism."<sup>1</sup> If this teaching is sufficiently effective perhaps it will have a definite influence on the trend of affairs in the future. Eddy's plea that schools must not only turn out politically trained children but workers and leaders, is especially true during this period of conflicting ideas.

Edwin Marshall Hadley differs from most commentators in his views on education. Rather than feeling that the United States is not developing students who will be able to spread propaganda with the ease, rapidity, and success that Russia is able to, he feels that America is allowing entirely too much propaganda to be spread right within our schools. He says, "The downfall of education started when Socialism and Communism were introduced into our educational system."<sup>2</sup> Hadley quotes Honorable Leslie M. Shaw, Ex-Governor of Iowa,

<sup>1</sup> Sherwood Eddy, The Challenge of Russia, 120.

<sup>2</sup> Edwin Marshall Hadley, T. N. T., 9.



and Secretary of the Treasury under Roosevelt as saying:

Socialists, near Socialists, Bolsheviki, Anarchists, I.W.W's!, non-Partisan Leaguers, Single Taxers and all the infernal bunch of disturbers and propagandists of class hatred, unintentionally led and reinforced by a large per cent of the teachers of political economy and sociology in our colleges and universities, seem bent upon nothing less than a revolution in both our form of government and our policy of government. Unless something be speedily done to counteract, there surely will be precipitated in America what France especially, and what Russia is now suffering. If there has been any systematic effort made to suppress, nullify or destroy Bolshevistic teachings, not always as bold but of the same character, with which nearly every college and university is daily deluged, both from chair and rostrum, I will be glad to know when and where the counteracting forces have been applied. Many men of wealth have thought that they were advancing the interest of their country and humanity generally by endowing colleges and universities. We have made education a fetish and have assumed that all education is alike good. It would be far better for America to have its youth poisoned with strychnine than with Bolshevism. Poison administered through the stomach is not contagious, but what has been lodged in the brain at these hotbeds of Socialism spreads and should it break in epidemic no army can effect a quarantine. May the long-suffering father protect his foolish children from the natural and legitimate results of their foolishness.<sup>1</sup>

Hadley also quotes the Massachusetts Public Interest League as saying:

The Reds constitute a busy, insistent minority in our citizenship, and they seek to spread their doctrines and increase their number by preaching discontent. They are adroit in their methods, for they are directed by clever students of psychology and human nature. They are backed by immense funds. They propagate their revolutionary and unpatriotic doctrines by degrees, starting with apparently harmless measures and gradually leading up to active opposition to government and every established institution.

Their leaders, for the most part, are highly educated men, and it is in the realm of education that they carry on one of the most insidious branches of their agitation. Just as the soapboxer used to demand 'freedom of speech' while he exhorted opposition to the very government to which he looked for that freedom, the radical in educational institutions

<sup>1</sup> Edwin Marshall Hadley, Op. Cit., 12.



demands 'Academic Freedom' to teach the self-same scheme.<sup>1</sup> Glenn Frank, the president of the University of Wisconsin until recently, stated, "I have said and still say that a student has a right to be a Communist as he has to be a Presbyterian or a Baptist."<sup>2</sup> He has been pointed out as a Communist since that time, and under much protest, he has been relieved of his position of president. The interest which this incident aroused is an indication of the division in feeling at this time. The point that is significant in this respect is that those who are supporting the radical side are an organized group, wholly prepared for action. The Russian Revolution, as well as all history, is a proof of the strength of the "mighty few."

Byrns says, "...the first task is to bring the world to an acceptance of Christian teaching."<sup>3</sup> Even the Russians would agree, probably, that a good stable moral background is a necessity. That this has been lacking in capitalistic countries, in many cases, is evident. The present tendency is to justify Russia for tearing down her cathedrals, or using them for industrial purposes, as they believe that she was only doing away with an institution based on form, not effectiveness, and supplanting it with a practical and fitting system.

<sup>1</sup> Edwin Marshall Hadley, Op. Cit., 13.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 26.

<sup>3</sup> Ruth Katherine Byrns, "Communism and the Common Man", The Catholic World, Nov. '36., 144.



More important than any other factor, in this regard, is the youth of the land. Are they being given a fair deal, and what can we expect of them in the future? Michelfelder believes that the idealism of youth is being used for an unworthy purpose. During the college age when they should be making and acting upon high decisions, they are often led in the wrong direction. They often choose the wrong road, and they are led to disaster before they realize it.

The more intense idealists, whether a large or small group, invariably climb aboard a radical band wagon. There is nothing phenomenal about this state of affairs except that it prevails only on campuses where religion is reduced to nice, empty chapel donated by the class of 1886, and where spiritual wants of young men and women are submerged in a welter of practical knowledge.

If Alma Mater can no longer appeal to the moral precepts that belong to the Christian religion, he is forced into the arms of the campus radical who offers him a new faith and moral responsibilities. Again it is the undergraduate Marxist who offers to order and intensify his spiritual life by giving his every day life a meaning and a purpose.<sup>1</sup>

It is often easier for a college student to accept a philosophy of life that is ready-made and therefore, escape the wandering and the haze that is often found during that period.

Mary Beard points out that from the very earliest times labor has seen the necessity of organizing. She states that:

The origin of the labor movement lies in self-defense - in attempts of workers to protect themselves against the worst ravages of the industrial system as it proceeded step by step to transform the agricultural or feudal society of the eighteenth century into the urban and industrial society of the twentieth century. Not until the rise of the merchant capitalist, the factory system, the growth of the great industrial cities, mining, and transportation on a large scale

<sup>1</sup> Wm. F. Michelfelder, "Adolescent Reds", The Commonweal, Jan. 24, '36., 357.



did the modern working-class movement emerge.<sup>1</sup>

In speaking of the development of the labor system, Mary Beard says:

While organized labor has been instrumental recently in defeating many bills in Congress, it has itself suffered a number of defeats in contests with the judiciary. In fact, under repeated decisions the labor clauses of the Clayton Act have been utterly riddled. During the strike of the railroad shopmen, in 1922, the federal Attorney-General, Harry M. Daugherty, secured from the district court of Chicago an injunction against the strikers which is one of the most sweeping decrees ever issued in a labor dispute. The injunction was sustained on appeal. Under this decree, union leaders were forbidden not only to picket, but also to issue any statement or to order the members of their organizations to leave their work or persuade others to do so. As decisions of the Supreme Court now stand, unions are not exempt from the law when they commit an 'unlawful' act, the injunction may be issued whenever any material damage is being done to an employer; trade unionists cannot agitate among non-union employees who have an agreement with their employer for the maintenance of an open shop; only that kind of picketing is lawful which is carried on by individual unionists stationed at or near plants; trade union leaders and agitators from the outside cannot lawfully interfere in a controversy between an employer and his workers; the secondary boycott is illegal; and a trade union may be sued under the Sherman Act for damages due to an employer in the strike.<sup>2</sup>

Although there have been changes in this connection especially very recently, this shows how important the matter of strikes has been through history. It also proves that regardless of good laws and good intentions radicals have been able to influence the labor unions.

Green believes, of course, that if the workers are given a right to organize and to bargain collectively, there will be no trouble. He states, however, that:

Legislation was passed making strikes illegal and the relationship between the employer and the employee that of master

<sup>1</sup> Mary Beard, A Short History of the American Labor Movement,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 182.



and servant. From that day to this the struggle for human liberty and industrial freedom has been directed against the legislative restraints and limitations which have been imposed upon the activities of the workers in the formation and growth of their trade unions. Whatever success has come in the work of organization and in the benefits and blessings which have come through organization to the men and women who toil has all been achieved as a result of the exercise of great effort, intense suffering, much sacrificing and the expenditure of huge sums of money.

It is clear to all who have studied the history of this great social and economic development that trade unionism is not a discovery or a formula. It grew and evolved slowly out of the needs of human experience. In the beginning, when unions were first formed, their primary purpose was to defend the workers against wage reductions and unfair treatment.<sup>1</sup>

Since that time the whole aim has been to improve the worker, to give him a chance to educate himself and to lead to a more satisfactory labor situation in all respects. Gompers states that:

Though the A. F. of L. does not advocate strikes, yet it encourages them when all other means to obtain justice for the toilers have failed. It urges that the workers when struck, strike back as best they can. Though strikes do not always win, even those alleged to be lost, at least induce employers to forbear in the future and teach them a lesson they do not readily forget; namely, that Labor is the most important factor in production and entitled to a voice in the question of wages, hours, and conditions under which work shall be performed.

The A. F. of L. stands as the most potent factor in all our country in defense of the right of free assemblage, free speech, and free press. It endeavors to unite all classes of wage-earners under one head through their several organizations with the purpose in view that class, race, creed, political and trade prejudices may be abolished and that moral and financial support may be given to all.<sup>2</sup>

In the Communist International for January, 1937, William Z. Foster says:

<sup>1</sup> William Green, Modern Trade Unionism, 10.

<sup>2</sup> Samuel Gompers, The American Labor Movement, 35.



Despite the splitting tactics of the leaders of the A. F. and L. Executive Council, the working class in the United States is rapidly developing a new wave of mass struggles. The next period will probably be one of the most important in this respect in the whole history of the American labor movement. The employers, in attempts to forestall the developing struggle, are giving many 'voluntary' wage increases and Christmas bonuses to the workers, and they are making overtures for the cooperation of the Roosevelt government which they opposed so bitterly in the recent elections.<sup>1</sup>

He concludes his article by saying:

The success of the economic and political struggle that American labor is now evidently going into, would greatly strengthen the democratic forces of America and put a strong brake upon the development of reaction and fascism in this country. And it goes without saying that such a development in the United States could not fail to have international repercussions by strengthening the fight of all revolutionary and democratic forces of the world, in defense of democracy and against the menace of fascism and war. Needless to add, the Communist Party of the U. S. A. will throw all its forces into this sharpening struggle in order that these mass movements may turn out to be the biggest victory ever won by the American working class, the biggest step toward its unity. And so that, in the making of this victory, the Communist Party can take still further strides toward building itself into a mass party.<sup>2</sup>

The common feeling seems to be that, "Wherever in the world there are revolutionary disturbances, there at that spot will be found the spies of Red Russia either the instigators or the abettors of the agitation and bloodshed."<sup>3</sup> In 1920, Miliukov said:

The membership books of the Union of Russian workers, which had sixty branches in the States, contained the following preamble:

Because the struggle between the classes will only end when the toiling masses, organized as a class, understand their true

<sup>1</sup> William Z. Foster, "The Convention of the A. F. of L.", The Communist International, Jan. '37.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Edwin Marshall Hadley, T. N. T., 56.



interests, and make themselves masters of all the world's riches by means of a violent revolution, for the attainment of these aims, we consider of final importance, the necessary building up of a wide revolutionary organization of toilers which, while conducting a direct struggle with all institutions of capitalistic government, must train the working classes to take initiative and independent action and then educate in it the consciousness of absolute necessity of a general strike - a social revolution.<sup>1</sup>

In referring to this movement in connection with the Third International, Miliukov said:

The Third International has held its new conference in Amsterdam, in the beginning of February. It was decided that a revolutionary action of the workers, to force international capital to make peace with Russia, is a necessary condition to save Soviet Russia, and to hasten the World Revolution. To further this action, the Communists of all countries must utilize every strike movement, every youth demonstration, (1) to place this aspect of their responsibility to the Russia Revolution before the workers; (2) to convince them that their interests are identical with those of Soviet Russia, (3) to develop a strong feeling of revolutionary solidarity and revolutionary action all the world over.<sup>2</sup>

The extent to which the communists are influencing the workers, through the Labor Unions and in other ways, is difficult to estimate. This is especially true because of the difference in opinions regarding the real aim of the Communist Party. Foster, in his article on the A. F. of L. in January states:

From the beginning the C. P. U. S. A. has supported the C. I. O. movement, with a certain amount of criticism. The C. P. especially urged the C. I. O. to come out more definitely for a Farmer-Labor Party, to take more energetic steps to mobilize its sympathizers in the craft unions, and to press forward more actively with the organization work. The C. P. has been giving the C. I. O. its energetic support in the struggle against the reactionary section of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., and also in the prosecution of its several campaigns to organize the unorganized in the steel

<sup>1</sup> Paul Miliukov, Bolshevism: An International Danger, 291.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 311.



auto, and other mass production industries.<sup>1</sup>

The plank for the Farmer-Labor Party, as outlined by Earl Browder in, "What is Communism?" in 1936 shows how closely the communist party and the labor unions are related and how definite the plans for the masses are. The provisions made are as follows:

1. Higher wages. The six hour day, thirty hour week, without reduction in weekly earnings.

2. The right to organize. Full recognition of collective bargaining through unions of the workers' choice, and the outlawing of company unions.

3. Adequate relief to unemployed workers and toiling farmers. Genuine unemployment and social insurances and old age pensions, the funds for which are to be secured by taxation of high incomes and fortunes.

4. A program of public works that will be of lasting social benefit to the masses. Union wages on all public works. Public control by unions, unemployed organizations and farmers' organizations of funds and direction of the public works project.

5. The opening of all closed factories by the government to supply jobs to the unemployed at union wages.

6. Against sales taxes, high utility rates and high monopoly prices. For the taxation of the rich and the lightening of the heavy burden of taxes upon the workers, farmers, middle classes, and professionals.

7. Immediate full payment of the bonus of the veterans through taxation of high incomes and fortunes.

8. Relief to impoverished farmers, against evictions and foreclosures and for government loans without interest to poor and needy farmers.

A. Cancellation of debts of the toiling farmers.

B. For a policy of satisfactory prices to the farmers and toiling population of the cities at the expense of the profits of the monopolies, banks, and speculators.

<sup>1</sup> William Z. Foster, "The Convention of the A. F. of L.," The Communist International, Jan. '37., 48.



- C. Land for sharecroppers and small tenant farmers.
- 9. Full support for the program of demands of the American Youth Congress.
- 10. Full rights for negroes - especially in the United States.
  - A. Abolition of the Jim Crow system and all forms of discrimination.
  - B. The death penalty for lynchers.
  - C. Full support for the National Negro Congress.
- 11. For the preservation of all democratic liberties.
  - A. Unrestricted civil and workers' rights.
  - B. Abolition of power of the Supreme Court to invalidate social legislation.
  - C. Right of the masses to initiate legislation by referendum and to recall officials who betray the trust of the masses.
- 12. For the elimination and punishment of corruption in the government.
- 13. Outlawing the use of professional strike breakers, vigilantes, police, national guard and Federal Troops - against the struggles of toilers for the betterment of their conditions.
- 14. For a genuine and consistent peace policy.
  - A. Against imperialist exploitation of colonial peoples and imperialist war.
  - B. Against the fascist war instigators everywhere.
  - C. Against armaments and militarism.
  - D. Collaboration with all forces fighting for peace.
- 15. For the protection of the interests and rights of the toiling women. Against all reactionary and fascist attempts to disqualify women from full participation in the economic and political life of the country.

In keeping with the idea that the C. I. O. has communist



backing, the American Citizen, for April 20, 1937 states;

To charge that the committee for Industrial Organization commonly known as the C. I. O. - is helping to pave the way for a Soviet America may seem fantastic, but it is nevertheless true.

It is hard to imagine free American workers coöperating in a scheme to Sovietize America. It is difficult to comprehend that they would help in any manner to bring about the overthrow of the American system which has given them so much - the highest wages, shortest working hours and the highest standard of living in the world. It is inconceivable that they would willingly allow themselves to be used as dupes and pawns in the pernicious game of Communism.

But that is what they are doing, according to Joseph P. Kamp, who has recently compiled for the Constitutional Educational League of New Haven, Connecticut, a factual summary of the C. I. O.'s connection with the Communist movement which has been published by the League in the form of a booklet under the title, Join the C. I. O. and Help Build a Soviet America. The League backs up its charges by a standing offer of \$1000. to anyone who can prove that a single charge made is untrue<sup>1</sup> and a similar reward if it can be shown that any one of the published quotations are not strictly accurate.

The Time for July 6, 1936 states that the real hero of the 1936 convention was John Llewellyn Lewis.

Speaker after speaker urged communists to join him in his fight for industrial unionism. Thunderous cheers greeted every prediction of a nationwide wave of strikes to be touched off by a great steel strike under John L. Lewis' leadership as he moved to organize that industry. Sitting in the hall, asserted one delegate, were twenty communist officials of steel company unions, already boring from within.

Red cheers from John L. Lewis stemmed from the major shift in communist policy decided at the Seventh World Congress of the Third International at Moscow last summer. Since then, U. S. Reds have soft-pedaled talk of the communist revolution, worked for a United Front with left-wing Socialists, non-communist trade unionists and farmers.

Their goal was to help form a National Farmer-Labor party in 1940. To achieve that, urged Secretary Browder, comrades

<sup>1</sup> The American Citizen, April 20, 1937., 1.



must drop their communist jargon, learn to speak the language of the United States workingman, shape their program to his ways of thinking. 'Ours is not a program of revolutionary overthrow of capitalism,' declared he in an astonished Red rightabout. It can be realized within the present American form of government.<sup>1</sup>

Eddy shows his attitude concerning this situation when he says:

Some countries face a 'labor problem' of strikes and the obstruction of organized labor in conflict with the interests of those who own and profit by means of production what may not be possible if this vast body of opposing wage earners become themselves the owners, the inventors, the enthusiastic initiators of a great common advance of industry for what they conceive to be the emancipation of the workers of the world.<sup>2</sup>

Hindus takes an opposite view in saying:

There certainly is no sign anywhere in these Anglo-Saxon lands of labor turning Communism. The objective conditions, according to Communist theory, seems as never before to favor the growth of Communist sentiment, and, yet, like a plant in arid soil, such sentiment does not get sustenance from national soil.<sup>3</sup>

Hindus made this statement in 1933, yet it represents the feelings of many persons at the present time. Taking the other side into consideration, however, it is difficult to imagine just how influential communism is to-day, and how important it will be in the immediate future. The majority of alert thinkers seem to believe that communism will play a larger and more important part than the public now realizes. At least, communism has found one of the weaknesses of capitalism, and it is making the best of its opportunity.

<sup>1</sup> "Radicals - Rightabout," Time, July 6, 1936., 16.

<sup>2</sup> Sherwood Eddy, The Challenge of Russia, 231.

<sup>3</sup> Maurice Hindus, The Great Offensive, 355.



Although there is constant talk of the values and the necessity of peace, not a great deal is done about it in the times of stress. While Gorky stresses the fact that there is every evidence of misguided peace in Europe and America and gives examples of imperialistic devices, other men point out that the trouble is caused by the boring in of communists in the peace plans. For instance, Stanley in his article on "Red Pacifism," in the American Mercury, says that:

It is almost unbelievable that Peace Movements are, in most cases, dominated by Communist or Socialist groups. These outstanding radical leaders are not working for peace but working to obtain support for their movement. In working against Fascism they are really supporting Fascism. Any number of prominent writers to-day are advocating communism in one way or another. Probably we shall suddenly find that the indirect influences are more influential than we ever imagined.

While thousands of sincere American citizens labor diligently for the genuine pacifist cause, the militarist communists labor diligently beside them - but toward an entirely different goal. That is, simply, the exploitation of the world peace movement as another recruiting agency for the international communism.

It is no exaggeration to say that the most articulate and vehement leadership to-day in the American peace crusade is exercised by men and women who are avowed sympathizers with the Kremlin's ideology.<sup>1</sup>

He continues his argument by saying:

From the standpoint of real world peace, the interpretation of the Reds in the pacifist movement is little short of disastrous. The Marxist seeks not peace but class war. He marches with pacifism, not to end war, but to exploit pacifism for the launching of the most deadly internecine strife which has ever been suffered by mankind. Without a resolute and realistic attitude on the part of the genuine pacifist - an attitude which pacifism has not yet exhibited - there can be no checking of the present Red advance. Pacifism will become merely another party line for the resourceful schemers who

<sup>1</sup> Herbert Wilton Stanley, "Red Pacifism", American Mercury, Aug., '36., 394.



have<sup>1</sup> determined that American democratic government must perish.<sup>1</sup>

Godden suggest in this line:

Doubtless America will soon be experiencing an extensive eruption of local 'Youth Peace Movements'. The Representatives of the Student Christian Movements stepped right into the Communist parlor, with the phrase, 'Let us see how Christians and Communists can stand together'. This eagerness to capture Christian organizations, and to win over individual Christians, by the new Youth policy of the Communist International, is in complete obedience to the 'momentous Resolution' passed at the Seventh World Congress of the Communists in Moscow on August 1, 1935.<sup>2</sup>

The American Citizen carries this idea even further by saying:

Under the leadership of the American Students Union, Communist subsidiary, the United Student Peace Committee, another Red organization formed for the purpose, is laying plans for a national strike against war on April 22.

More than twenty-five Southern California colleges and junior colleges, Western Worker, official Communist organ for the Coast, boasts in its issue of April 12, as well as many high schools, are scheduled to participate in the 'giant Peace Day demonstrations beginning throughout the nation at eleven a. m.'.

'Disarm America and make slackers of all young Americans' is the slogan of the day, according to even the most generous interpretation of the propaganda, in order that when Moscow gives the word for the launching of the revolution the United States will be found defenseless.<sup>3</sup>

At the same time that these great peace movements are under way, for one purpose or another, Moscow's press agents boast of Russia's Red Army, the largest in the world's history, with its 12,000 tanks, its 5000 bomber planes, its

<sup>1</sup> Op. Cit., 406.

<sup>2</sup> G. M. Godden, "New Communist Attack on Youth", Catholic World, May, 1936, 152.

<sup>3</sup> "Peace Day Scheme", The American Citizen, Apr. 20, '37, 4.



500,000 trained army parachute jumpers and its twenty million of men and women, boys and girls, undergoing military training and rehearsing for warfare.

'And what purpose are these gigantic armaments to serve?' the question presents itself. The answer is to be found in the oath taken by every Red soldier - not the slacker oath required of the Young Communists, the Young Pioneers, the college boys and girls of the American Students' Union - but an oath that is unique in the history of all armies of the world:

I, the son of the working people, am taking upon me the vocation of a fighter of the Red Workers' and Peasants' army. In consideration of the working classes of the Soviet Union and of the whole world, I agree to spare neither my strength nor my life in the cause of Socialism and the brotherhood of all nations.<sup>1</sup>

Every person must keep in mind, regardless of the evidences to the contrary, that there are strong reliable peace organizations within the United States to-day. They are working for noble purposes with practical plans that indicate success. The difficulty will lie in that they may be persuaded, as they were just previous to the World War, that they must fight "to make the world safe for democracy" or some other high-sounding phrase. Unless they are tricked or sincerely convinced that they must change their objectives and their tactics, a great deal can be expected from them in future events.

A great deal has been said about the World War and the

<sup>1</sup> "Red Army Ready to Start the World Revolution," The American Citizen, Apr. 20, '37., 2.



influence that another war would have. In fact, it seems unbelievable that more people do not take such an outcome of present affairs seriously. There is no justification for such an attitude; it merely exists. Granting that war means losing everything and gaining nothing, peace losers find it impossible to understand why people will support a war whatever may be the motive. J. Elliot Ross says:

Since the people do the fighting and bear the hardships of war, I think that they should have the ultimate decision as to war. The right to declare war should be taken away from Congress and a plebiscite should be required before an appeal to the arbitrament of arms. Stricter regulations regarding neutrality might help in avoiding a situation that almost necessitates war. The nationalization of the manufacture of arms would prevent American manufacturers from providing potential enemies with arms to be used against us.<sup>1</sup>

He adds:

Of a piece with foolishness of war is the foolishness of imagining that preparedness for war is the best guarantee of peace.<sup>2</sup>

Dennis, in referring to the possible outcome of another war, states that:

A world war, followed by economic collapse and social unrest everywhere in Europe, would afford Communistic Russia the ideal opportunity for using its red armies and propaganda agencies throughout Europe to sit up and support red dictatorship. Russian Communism is the one system suited to survive a world war and economic collapse, for it was born of just such conditions and has operated during its nineteen years of life on a war basis with unlimited hardships and sacrifices for its people.<sup>3</sup>

Schmalhausen, in speaking of the inevitability of war under

<sup>1</sup> J. Elliot Ross, "America and War", The Commonweal, Mar. 27, '36., 593.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 595.

<sup>3</sup> Lawrence Dennis, "Making the World Safe for Communism", Ann. of Amer. Acad., 116.



our present system says:

Not only are capitalism and nationalism severally hostile to the general welfare of mankind; they are mutually destructive. The fanatical devotion of the possessing class to both simultaneously is the most absolute of all signs that its supremacy is coming to an end.

Capitalism is monopoly at home but competition abroad, and this competition, taking advantage of nationalistic patriotism, is the fundamental cause of war. Indeed, it is now clearly recognized that the cause of the present crisis is capitalism, economically is the fact that the world is still at war.<sup>1</sup>

Eddy says:

There is only one reservation that one is bound to make in any discussion of world revolution, and that is the unforeseen shift of influence, emotion, and power in time of war.<sup>2</sup>

Almost everyone would agree with him in this respect. If world communism or world revolution is ever given a chance, it will be given one during war time. Yet, we must reluctantly agree with Norman Thomas, in this respect at least that:

When we turn to the outlook for peace, the skies are very black. If the United States is temporarily better off economically than during the campaign of 1932, it is worse off in respect to the hope that we can keep our own generation and our children's out of war.

Yet the basic condition of peace is the same. We shall not have secure peace until we have built an international social order of cooperation to which peace is appropriate, as to-day war is appropriate to civilization based on strife which divides men and nations into the House of Have and the House of Have-Nots.<sup>3</sup>

These activities in Moscow were particularly offensive to American conservative labor unions, which were made to

<sup>1</sup> Samuel D. Schmalhausen, Recovery Through Revolution, 14.

<sup>2</sup> Sherwood Eddy, The Challenge of Russia, 368.

<sup>3</sup> Norman Thomas, "Vote Socialist", Christian Century, Sept. 30, '36., 1283.



appear as a catspaw for the Communists and it was largely owing to representations of the officials of the American Federation of Labor that the Department of State took action in this matter.<sup>1</sup> The Soviet Government seemed to have forgotten that it promised the United States "to present the activity on its territory of any organization or group - which has as an aim, the overthrow of, or the preparation for the overthrow of, or the bringing about by force of a change in the political or social order of the whole or any part of the United States."<sup>2</sup> This is still a matter of controversy.

Dr. Butler, in criticizing our present form of government, says that since the world war our epoch 'has been crowded' with broken promises and disregarded treaties. This is an evidence of a slack in morals that will have to be made up before international progress will be possible. He stresses the fact that we still have the spirit of achievement which has been evident for the last two thousand years but that there must be a moral foundation for such action. Those who are shaking their heads with knitted brows as they view the church will be conscious that here, truly, lies the one great handicap. Most persons maintain that capitalism has strength and that it will continue to exist for many years.

While the United States is criticized from many angles, it is undoubtedly criticized most severely from an economic

<sup>1</sup> Edgar S. Furness, "America and the Comintern," Current History, October, 1935, 103.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 104.



standpoint. When large numbers of under-nourished and starving children and adults can be found in a country where there is supposed to be over-production, and when conditions of that type can continue to exist without plans being made for definite improvement, something is wrong with the situations. A country which offers no jobs for its college graduates, and no real hopes of improvement for certain classes, can be criticized justly. Pitkin expresses the situation from one viewpoint when he says that:

America is the country of the anti-economic system. Its members are few but enormously powerful. They number anywhere from two to four million true criminals (often disguised as Big Business Men) who seek to get something for nothing - or as close to nothing as possible. Here are not only kidnapers, rum runners, thieves, big and little, and all the rest of the criminal world that chisels its way as it goes. The real menace lies in the organized racketeers who are to-day exploiting subsistence workers to beat the economic system.<sup>1</sup>

He estimates that they chisel the law-abiding citizens to the extent of \$13,000,000 yearly. Many other conditions concerning working hours, working situations, pay, and general treatment have been considered unsatisfactory as well as the whole economic set up. Although certain groups of people have observed these situations and have attempted to remedy them, up to date, they have not settled problems satisfactorily enough to prevent strikes and undesirable disturbances. A certain number of persons always regard strikes with approval as they consider them a definite movement forward. This attitude was taken in Russia at the time of the general upset.

<sup>1</sup> Walter Pitkin, A Chance of a Lifetime, 217.



In the Petrograd Pravda, for November 7, 1919, a writer on the October Revolution and the Communist International says:

The proletarian revolution is moving forward with powerful steps. In the unprecedented waves of strikes, which has started in Europe and America, the old, rotten trade organizations and their 'leaders' struggle helplessly. These pitiable pigmies are unable to stop the powerful rush of the waves of proletarian revolution. The strike of millions of English railway men, the grandiose strike of American longshoremen, of German metal workers, and of Italian workmen of almost every trade, have a world-wide historic significance. This same strike wave has begun in old Europe, just such a wave as preceded the proletarian revolution in Russia. It is the same 'strike excitability' which brought terror to the Russian traitor - socialists, the Mensheviks several years ago.

The powerful strike wave, rushing over the whole world, gives new strength to the Communist International. It could not be otherwise. Humanity has not gone mad. The bloody lesson which the imperialists gave to the workmen of all countries during 1914-1919 will not be lost. In this senseless imperialistic slaughter, millions and millions of people perished. But the lesson was not lost for the proletarians of all countries. The workmen will no longer be slaves; the workmen will leave the power in the hands of the class which brought humanity to the tortures of hunger and cold.

But the Communist International serves as the speaking trumpet of the millions of workmen of Europe and America who have been outraged and thoroughly incensed. The tears of millions of proletarian mothers, the death groans of millions of proletarians who perished on the fields of the imperialistic wars, the innumerable sufferings of the working masses who were brought by the imperialists into the abyss of pauperism call for revenge, and the Communist International will make the bourgeois world atone for this.

The Communist International listens attentively to every movement of the soul of the working class. Like the strings of a sensitive harp, it responds to all this anger, this revolutionary decisiveness, this courage of the working class which has passed through the storm and tempest of 1914-19.<sup>1</sup>

Calverton feels that the workers are not willing to be oppressed any longer and that they are not afraid to stand up

<sup>1</sup> International Conciliation, 86.



for their rights.

The American workers, thus, as well as the American farmers have constituted an army of fighters. They have not surrendered to necessity without struggle. They have fought for whatever they got, and despite the fact that the prosperity period of the twenties threatened for a time to undermine their morale, they are ready to fight again. The trouble in the past has not been with their fighting - but with the inadequacy of what they fought for. The American workers are swift to resort to force and quick to turn it into violence. What is necessary, therefore, is not to educate the American workers to be willing to use force in a social emergency.<sup>1</sup>

As the capitalist system has proved to be unprofitable and unfair from the standpoint of many who are looking toward a change, Socialism suggests a new system for the United States.

1. The American Soviet government, by taking over the ownership of industry and the land, will put a stop to the manifold forms of robbing the workers and the farmers of monster masses of values on the basis of private ownership of the social means of livelihood.

2. The setting up of a Socialist system will greatly increase the productive forces and production itself.

3. Socialism will result in an enormous increase in industrial and agricultural efficiency.

4. Socialism will also conserve the natural resources of the country which are now being ruthlessly wasted in the mad capitalist race for profits.

5. Finally, the eventual victory of the workers on a world scale will liquidate the monster, War, with all its agonies and social losses.<sup>2</sup>

Devere Allen supports Foster by saying, "Socialism injects into economic relationships a personal element, at least a contiguity which may help to rescue the modern machine

<sup>1</sup> V. F. Calverton, "America's Revolutionary History", (from Samuel Schmalhausen, Recovery Through Revolution), 383.

<sup>2</sup> William Z. Foster, Toward Soviet America, 287.



from its monstrous impersonalism.<sup>1</sup>

Stalin suggests, also, that:

As a result of all these changes in the national economy of the U. S. S. R., we have now a socialist economy, knowing neither crisis nor unemployment, neither poverty nor ruin, and giving to the citizens every possibility to live prosperous and cultured lives.<sup>2</sup>

The program of the Communist Party is one that involves all types of workers.

The principal means employed toward this aim are: the development of broad mass organizations (the Party, as the guiding force; the trade unions, as the backbone of the entire system of the proletarian dictatorship; the Young Communist League; cooperative societies of all types; working women's and peasant women's organizations; the various so-called 'voluntary societies'; worker and peasant correspondents' societies; sport, scientific, cultural and educational organizations); full encouragement of the initiative of the masses and the promotion of fresh strata of workers to high posts in all spheres of economy and administration.<sup>3</sup>

D. Z. Manuilsky reported, at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International upon the great success of the U. S. S. R. in socialist industrialization, in agriculture, in improvement of the laboring and cultural conditions of the toilers, in political consolidation, in the development of socialism in the U. S. S. R., and in the spreading of the socialist doctrine to other countries, where the people are becoming confident of the opportunities that socialism has to offer them and of the mistaken importance which they have attached to capitalism. He ends his report by saying: With the victory of socialism, the U. S. S. R. has become a

<sup>1</sup> Devere Allen, "Socialism: Gateway to Democracy," Ann. of Am. Acad. July, '35., 76.

<sup>2</sup> Joseph Stalin, The New Soviet Constitution, 6.

<sup>3</sup> Program of the Communist International, Workers Library Publishers, 63.



great political, economic, and cultural force which influences world policy. It has become the center of attraction and the rallying point for all peoples, countries and even governments which are interested in the preservation of international peace. It has become the stronghold of the toilers of all countries against the menace of war. It has become a mighty weapon for consolidating the toilers of the whole world against world reaction.

The victory of socialism, having transformed the U. S. S. R. into a force which sets in motion broad strata of the population, classes, nations, peoples and states, marks a new great change in the relationship of class forces on a world scale in favor of socialism, to the detriment of capitalism; it marks the beginning of a new stage in the development of the world proletarian revolution.

From the historic balance of achievements secured since the Sixth Congress of the Communist International, with which the world proletarian movement is approaching the second round of wars and revolutions and which determines the basic tasks of the world proletarian revolution, follows the primary duty of the working class and the toilers of the world and of, all Sections of the C. I.:

To help with all their might and by all means to strengthen the U. S. S. R. and to fight against the enemies of the U. S. S. R. Both under peace conditions and in the circumstances of war directed against the U. S. S. R. the interests of strengthening the U. S. S. R., of increasing its power, of ensuring its victories in all spheres and in every sector of the struggle, coincide fully and inseparably with the interests of the toilers of the whole world. In their struggle against the exploiters with the interests of the colonial and oppressed peoples fighting against imperialism; they are the conditions for, and they contribute to, the triumph of the world proletarian revolution, the victory of socialism throughout the world. Assistance to the U. S. S. R., its defense, and coöperation in bringing about its victory over all its enemies must therefore determine the actions of every revolutionary organization of the proletariat, of every genuine revolutionary, of every Socialist, Communist, non-party worker, toiling peasant, of every honest intellectual and democrat, of each and everyone who desires the overthrow of exploitation, fascism and imperialist oppression, deliverance from imperialist war, who desires that there should exist brotherhood and peace among nations that socialism should triumph throughout the world.<sup>1</sup>

Although many people criticize the Russian experiment

<sup>1</sup> Georgi Dimitroff, Resolutions of the Seventh Congress of The Communist International, 58.



from every standpoint, there are many that marvel at the economic advances which she has made within the short period following the revolution. This is particularly true if they consider the very undesirable economic situation with which the revolutionists began. Not only was there a lack of information on the part of those who were given the responsibility of directing or working in plants, but there was a lack of knowledge concerning the whole aim toward which they were working.

In planning for this new system the Russian engineers or the foreign engineers had to start from the very beginning and had to estimate the probable outcome of the future. To do this they were compelled to spend large amounts of money, to build upon vast plans, and to take advantage of every possible aid. Unlimited natural resources have been discovered, and the Russians are using them to the best of their ability. Imports of materials and ideas from every country, but particularly from the United States, have been used to fill great needs. Not only have they improved their transportation system, which was in a very bad condition and which is essential to the success of their plan, but they have improved their banking system, their communication systems, and many other systems immeasurably. Consumer, Producer, and Agricultural Coöperatives have been established as quickly as possible, and every effort has been put forward to improve the daily life, the working conditions, and the leisure time of the worker. Shorter hours, more rest



periods, and more facilities for rest, better treatment of women in industry, and more guaranties in case of unemployment, illness, or old-age have been provided.

Visitors to Russia and keen observers stress the great advances that have been made in industries, both old and new, in a few years. In many respects their progress compares with European countries or the United States and in other cases it surpasses their development. With the wealth of natural resources, with the urgent need for advances, and with the present spirit of the people, the future outlook, in this respect, is bright.

Every book, that mentions the economic development of Russia includes long lists of the increased productions in different fields. The results are startling. No one could deny that they are an evidence of real work, or toil, which is the by-word in Russia to-day, and a great output of energy in certain lines. Those who observe conditions critically, however, point out that foreigners receive just half of the picture and that statistics are always managed so that they appear encouraging. In this respect, as in all respects concerning Russia, the observer must judge from what he reads and from what he hears.

Often, the Third International is regarded as a very highly organized concern depending upon Russia for its strength if it is to possess any. Hindus, in Humanity Up-rooted, expresses this idea when he says:

Despite its reputed prowess and Machiavellism the Third International, the directing head of the Communist fighting



legion, is in time of peace and economic comfort nothing more, at best, than a bellicose general with grandiose schemes of conquest and a heart full of fire, but without an army, with hardly a fighting front. A war, more than any other social cataclysm, will put the revolutionary wrath, or fervour or threat of the Communists to the most fierce test.<sup>1</sup>

As a rule, however, persons do not regard the International as a weak force but a very strong, and sometimes serious, force to deal with. Strachey points out that communism is in its very essence international, and that therefore, the Third International is the logical result. He mentions, however, that the Third International would not be the success that it is if the capitalistic powers were not "at daggers drawn with each other."

Fainsod states that:

The Third International was summoned into being to divert the masses from the 'bankrupt' leadership of the old International to the uncompromising revolutionary road upon which the Bolsheviks had already set foot.

The platform, the invitation stated, had been drawn up in agreement with the programme of the Spartacist Union in Germany and of the Communist Party in Russia. It set forth fifteen propositions which embody the objects and tactics of the proposed International. The first seven deal with general objectives and methods. The call points out that this is 'the epoch of the decomposition and breakup of the world Capitalist system!' Consequently, the task of the working class is (1) the immediate seizure of state power and suppression of the bourgeois governmental machinery; (2) the abandonment of false bourgeois democracy, for the dictatorship of the working class dedicated to the 'systematic suppression and appropriation of the exploiting classes'; (3) the use of the dictatorship of the proletariat to suppress private property in the means of production, and to secure the centralization of economic function in the hands of the proletarian dictatorship; (4) the arming of the proletariat and disarming of the bourgeoisie and their agents; (5) the maintenance of contact between various parts of the revolutionary proletariat and the consolidation of countries where the Socialist revolution is already victorious. The method of the struggle is to consist of the action of the proletarian

<sup>1</sup> Maurice Hindus, Humanity Uprooted, 339.



masses even to open armed conflict with the power of the capitalist state.<sup>1</sup>

Starting with these aims and objectives-

The ultimate aim of the Communist International is to replace world capitalist economy by a world system of communism. Communist society, the basis for which has been prepared by the whole course of historical development, is mankind's only way out, for it alone can abolish the contradictions of the capitalist system which threaten to degrade and destroy the human race.<sup>2</sup>

Furniss expressed the importance with which the Third International is regarded when he mentioned the possibility of doing away with the activities of the Third International if Russia were to be recognized.

To expel the Third International from Moscow would involve a repudiation by the Soviet Union of its leadership of a world communism, it would shatter the unity of the communist party in Russia and undermine the political control of the Soviet leaders over their own country; it would renounce the creed that lies at the heart of the Soviet program of social reconstruction. Anxious as it is to maintain friendly relations with the United States the Soviet Government would accept the alternative of a diplomatic rupture rather than take such drastic action against the Comintern.<sup>3</sup>

Browder speaks of the valuable work which the Comintern does in bringing the communist parties of the world together into one strong tie and, at the same time, benefiting the individual communist parties by fitting the duties and opportunities according to their needs. Foster says:

Under the leadership of the Communist International, the toilers of the world are organizing to put a final end to the long, long ages of ignorance and slavery, of which capitalist imperialism is the last stage, and to begin building a prosperous and intelligent society commensurate with the levels

<sup>1</sup> Merle Fainsod, International Socialism and the World War, 205.

<sup>2</sup> Program of the Communist International, Workers' Library Publishers, 30.

<sup>3</sup> Edgar S. Furniss, America and the Comintern, Curr. Hist., Oct. '35., 104.



to which social knowledge and production possibilities have reached.<sup>1</sup>

Lyons, in speaking of events and circumstances at the time of the World War, says:

The rumblings of revolution heard above the roar of the cannon in Europe accelerated the fears, and consequently the persecutions, in the United States. A vehement call for international revolution came out of Russia, where the Soviets had taken power.<sup>2</sup>

In referring to the death of Sacco and Vanzetti, Lyons remarks that:

The working class that marched along with the funeral in Boston marched "to the tune of the International and the Red Flag." Sacco and Vanzetti were anarchists. But when they were first arrested the word most frequently used by their enemies in describing them was 'Bolsheviks.' That, in 1920 and 1921, was the word which represented the fears of the rulers. Later they were called 'Communists'. That had come to be the bugaboo of the master class. They were sacrificed to the basic fears of capitalist society.

They died for the working class of the world.

In the United States that working class was in a large measure indifferent; in a large measure it was too weak and disorganized. It spent its power on a feeble gesture. Their death must teach the American workers to organize and to use their organized might.<sup>3</sup>

Fainsod, in tracing the development of the international movement, says:

The members of the Third International regard themselves as the direct successors of the heroic efforts and martyrdom of a long series of revolutionary generations from Babeuf to Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.' As the First International foresaw the future developments and pointed the way; as the Second International gathered together and organized millions of the proletarians, so the Third International is

<sup>1</sup> William Z. Foster, Toward Soviet America, 343.

<sup>2</sup> Eugene Lyons, The Life and Death of Sacco and Vanzetti, 37.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, 208.



the International of open mass action, the International of Deeds. The manifesto concludes with a final plea:

We appeal to the laboring men and women in all countries to join us under the Communist banner which the first great victory already has won. Proletarians in all lands! Unite to fight against imperialist barbarity, against monarchy, against the privileged classes, against the bourgeois state, and bourgeois property, against all kinds and forms of Social and National oppression. Join us - proletarians in every country - flock to the banner of the workingmen's councils, and fight the revolutionary fight for the power and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

With this call to action the Third International was launched on its career, a career that was to be marked by many vicissitudes of fortune. In the international labor movement the cleavage which had been precipitated by the war was complete.<sup>1</sup>

Hadley quotes Stalin as having said:

The present development of Bolshevik action in the United States has been prepared at Moscow with the greatest care. The revolutionary crisis has not yet arrived in the United States, but there are already numerous indications which lead us to believe that it is near. The Third International has enabled the Communist Party of America to reach a stage where it can actively prepare the masses for future revolution.<sup>2</sup>

Those who sympathize with the workers feel that the proletariat is justified in any means that it may take to become free.

In 1906, the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, later to become the League for Industrial Democracy, was organized by Upton Sinclair with Jack London as president and at one of its first meetings, at Yale, London, already a veteran in the movement, made a fiery confession of faith:

I received a letter the other day (he told his audience). It was from a man in Arizona. It began 'Dear Comrade'. It ended 'Yours for the Revolution'. In the United States there are 400,000 men, of men and women nearly 1,000,000 who begin their letters, 'Dear Comrade' and sign them 'Yours for the

<sup>1</sup> Merle Fainsod, International Socialism and the World War, 211.

<sup>2</sup> Edwin Marshall Hadley, T. N. T., 60.



Revolution'. The Revolution is here and now. Stop it who can.<sup>1</sup>

Symes and Clement point out, also, the fact that a revolution has been under way for many years.

While in America, the radicals of all shades have seemingly made very little progress, American capitalism itself has been laying the groundwork for social revolution. Today millions who never before questioned its premises or its soundness are beginning to suspect its bankruptcy.<sup>2</sup>

Other persons point out that the World War and the October proletarian revolution gave a great shock to the world, especially to capitalistic countries, and that revolutions in various countries from 1918-1927 were the result. Foster says that "The most basic indication of the growing general crisis of capitalism and its decline as the social order is the increasing revolutionary upsurge throughout the world."<sup>3</sup> The workers are becoming tired of their oppression, and, in seeing others work for their rights, they are creating a new enthusiasm for the betterment of their lot.

Foster suggests that:

American capitalism, like capitalism in other countries, is travelling the same road to revolution. The chronological order of the United States' entry into the developing revolution is, as yet, a matter of speculation, but it would be sheer assumption to conclude that because this is the strongest capitalist country, it will be the last to go into revolution. One day, despite the disbelief of the capitalists and of their still more cynical Social Fascist lackeys, the American workers will demonstrate that they, like the Russians, have the intelligence, courage, and organization to carry through the revolution. The American capitalist class, like that of other countries, is living on the brink

<sup>1</sup> Lillian Symes, and Travers Clement, Rebel America, 233.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 375.

<sup>3</sup> William Z. Foster, Toward Soviet America, 52.



of a volcano which, sooner than it dreams, is going to explode.<sup>1</sup>

Herman Simpson has watched recent events closely, and he is well satisfied with the present trend.

Of late, there has arisen among American literary men a strong trend toward Marxism; strong, that is to say, by comparison with the total absence of such a trend in the recent past, for of the few pre-war Marxists in the Socialist party, some were reduced to silence by socialist leaders, while others welcomed the opportunity which the war gave them to correct the errors of their youth, break completely with their past, and go over bag and baggage to the enemy. The new and still very young group of Marxists have before them the glorious task and opportunity of bringing about the intellectual revolution of which America stands in such need and without which no social and political revolution is even thinkable.<sup>2</sup>

George E. Sokolsky stated in the New York Herald Tribune for March 29, 1937:

The American people do not yet realize that they are in the first stage of a revolution. Yet all experience with revolution shows that the seizure of private property by lawless bands before whom government stands impotent is the first major battle in the destruction of any government.<sup>3</sup>

Although there is a difference of opinion, as is always true in regard to Russia, the prevailing idea, is that a world revolution is still in store for the world, but because it seems wiser, other methods than the one originally suggested will be attempted. Hindus says:

Bolsheviks, of course, whether in or out of the Soviet Government, cherish as much faith in the inevitability of world revolution as they ever have. It is as cardinal an article in their faith as is immortality of the soul in the faith of the fundamentalist.

<sup>1</sup> William Z. Foster, Toward Soviet America, 67.

<sup>2</sup> Herman Simpson, "Whither these States", (from Schmalhausen) 364.

<sup>3</sup> George E. Sokolsky, "It Can Happen Here," Readers' Digest, May, 1937.



Yet events have occurred in Russia and the outside world which have markedly cooled their ardor for the movement.<sup>1</sup>

It still holds meetings and prints resolutions, and calls on workers of the world to make ready for the final reckoning with capitalism. But gone is the old fire and the old tempestuousness. The men who now guide its destinies have no thunder and no lightning in them. Its followers, of course, explain its decline on the ground that it is biding its time, waiting for the imminently revolutionary situation to burst forth into the open.<sup>2</sup>

Hindus ends this discussion by saying that no movement on earth seems as "devoid of hope" as the world revolution.

The chances for success for this movement in the future will, of course, depend upon many factors. Hindus is convinced that the Bolsheviks, in considering a communist revolution in the United States, did not take into consideration the middle class. He takes the stand that:

The middle class is a composite of many classes with differing intellectual achievement and economic background, but with a common and united abhorrence for efforts to dislodge them by violence from their position, their privileges, their beliefs, their usages.<sup>3</sup>

A large number of people agree with Hindus that the Communists have not taken this strong middle class into consideration. This shows that they do not understand the situation and that their plans will not be as successful as they expect them to be.

Strachey mentions that the communists must remember that revolutions do not happen at a certain time but that it takes years to prepare for them and sometimes longer to lead to

<sup>1</sup> Maurice Hindus, The Great Offensive, 352.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 353.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, 359.



their completion. The change in attitude on the part of many of the Communists is an indication that they may see that this is true. They are determined, however, because communism has so much to offer to the world, that it will be a success eventually.

Symes and Clement point out that:

It must be obvious, too, that while the capture of Petrograd and Moscow by a handful of purposeful communists, backed up by some thousands of soldier-workers, meant the capture of political power over all of Russia, the taking of New York, Washington, or Chicago in a nation where each geographical section is so highly integrated both politically and economically as in the United States would mean very much less, and might leave a very formidable St. Louis, Cleveland, and San Francisco to be reckoned with, to say nothing of a large and militant class of Kulaks in Iowa, Nebraska, and Wisconsin. The result would be merely prolonged civil war. If the coup d'état is to be the weapon of revolution in the United States, it will certainly require not only a high degree of strategic skill and technical knowledge, but a widespread and popular support a thousand times greater than that needed by the revolutionaries in Russia, where the great mass of the peasantry was indifferent to and largely ignorant of, what was happening in the capital. The larger and more politically aggressive a nation's middle class, the wider and stronger the base of its revolutionary movement will need to be. It was one thing to liquidate Russia's small and youthful bourgeoisie. It would be quite another to liquidate the American bourgeoisie even though the depression has reduced many of its members to proletarian status.<sup>1</sup>

Georgi Dimitroff offers encouragement at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International on August 20, 1935, when he says:

Comrades, the work of the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, the Congress of the Communists of all countries, of all continents of the world, is coming to a close.

What are the results of this Congress, what is its significance for our movement, for the working class of the world,

<sup>1</sup> Lillian Symes and Travers Clement, Rebel America, 378.



for the toilers of every land?

It has been the Congress of the complete triumph of the unity between the proletariat of the country of victorious socialism, the Soviet Union, and the proletariat of the capitalist countries which is still fighting for its liberation. The victory of socialism in the Soviet Union - a victory of world historic significance - gives rise in all capitalist countries to a powerful movement toward socialism. This victory strengthens the cause of peace among peoples, enhancing as it does the international importance of the Soviet Union and its role as the mighty bulwark of the toilers in their struggle against capital, against reaction and fascism. It strengthens the Soviet Union as the base of the world proletarian revolution. It sets in motion throughout the whole world not only the workers, who are turning more and more to Communism, but also millions of peasants and farmers, of the hard-working petty townfolk, a considerable proportion of the intellectuals, the enslaved peoples of the colonies. It inspires them to struggle, increases their attachment for the great fatherland of all the toilers, strengthens their determination to support and defend the proletarian state against all its enemies.

Our Congress has laid down the foundations for so extensive a mobilization of the forces of all toilers against capitalism as never existed in the history of the working class struggle.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Georgi Dimitroff, Resolutions - Seventh Congress of the Communist International, 6.



## CONCLUSION

The Third International began in 1919 with a well-planned foundation based upon two previous internationals, with the purpose of world revolution well-defined. Relying upon the proletariat for the main support and taking Russia as the starting point, the Third International strove first to improve the conditions within Russia and then, ultimately, within the whole world. The communists were fortunate in being able to take advantage of a very unusual situation in Russia at that time, but a large number of very significant changes had to be made in the social economic, and political life of Russia in order to begin to achieve their aims. As these changes were particularly necessary in Russia, it was logical for the Third International to be established there at that time, but because of these conditions, it was probably the most difficult starting point. The struggle between the classes, based upon years of undesirable conditions, showed the need for a classless society, and those who survived this system were eager to try any system that offered definite improvement. The faithfulness and loyalty of the Russian people as a result of this situation have been the real basis for the achievements so far. The administrators have been conscious of the value of this support, and they have made every effort to keep it.

Beginning with the idea of a world revolution, which



they expected as an early outcome of the unsettled conditions in many countries at that time, the supporters of the Third International were confident of a quick change in Russia and then in the whole world. The extreme difficulty of the procedure and the seriousness of the experiment were not clear to the majority of workers at that time. Very soon, however, the backwardness of the country, the ignorance of the people, and the inability of the Russians to adjust themselves to a new system became evident. The horrible conditions in Russia immediately following the World War and the strain of demands made in the New Economic Policy, introduced in 1921, caused so much suffering and such dissatisfaction among the people that it appeared as if they would not be able to continue. With outside assistance, particularly from the United States, and with changes made within the system itself, it was possible to carry on toward the desired aim. Great accomplishments were made in the economic life of Russia and in less time than they anticipated. With this apparent success they began upon their second five year plan to be completed in 1937. Although many fundamental changes have been made, the original plan for a socialist Russia and for a world revolution, in the future, have been retained. In the unlimited demands which the Russian experiment itself has involved, the ideal of world revolution has diminished in comparison.

Lenin realized, after a short time, that the original plans for a world revolution would not be possible and that all time and effort would have to be concentrated on Russia,



for the time of great changes at least. Trotsky upheld the idea of world revolution from the beginning, and he still insists that this much be accomplished before success can be achieved. Stalin has agreed that a world revolution is an eventual conclusion, but at the present time he is more concerned about the development of communism in Russia than the influence of the Third International in any country. He is convinced that the success of the Third International in Russia, or of the communist plan, is necessary before communist ideas can be spread to outside countries with success. With his keen insight into the difficulties and problems within Russia, he realizes the seriousness of the task. This feeling is the basis for the attitude which he has taken toward supporters and dissenters, and for the variety of methods which he has used to arouse the interest of the people, to keep their loyalty and to gain their continued support. If the Third International has assisted in these aims, then it has served its purpose. At least it has contributed all that some observers expect it to contribute.

With the acceptance of the New Russian Constitution, which the Russians believe is a definite evidence of the success of their experiment, the aim of communism or "pure" democracy is supposed to have been achieved. Many observers declare, nevertheless, that the Third International was disregarded as a vital force as early as 1921 and that it has been used as a means of encouragement for the people since that time. These people realize that the success of the plan is



dependent upon the continued support of the people, and they know that the way to assure this is to make the people feel that they are working for an outstanding plan, for a world cause. If the new constitution is a true indication of the success of the communist plan, then there are possibilities of success in other countries. If, on the other hand, the new constitution is merely another attempt to impress the Russian people and to gain more support, it is a clear sign of the weakness of the whole plan of the Third International as well. Those who discredit the present trend within Russia stress the possible influences of the bureaucratic system which has developed recently. They see in this trend a complete reversal of the original plans and the acceptance of any means to achieve their desired end. Rather than success through these procedures, however, these critics see the downfall of the whole system as the ultimate result. This may be regarded as Trotsky's main attitude to-day. It is impossible to determine how nearly this represents the feeling of many people to-day because such people are immediately exiled or quieted in some definite way.

Although there were many evidences of revolutions in many countries at the time of the Russian Revolution, since that time adjustments have been made and satisfaction has been obtained without a world revolution. In all countries, however, there is still an undercurrent of thought - a certain amount of dissatisfaction with the existing systems - and the communists are relying upon this for support. There



is no accurate way to estimate the importance of propaganda in the world to-day, but there is evidence it is having much more influence, in almost every circumstance, than the average person realizes. When Russia was recognized by the United States, for instance, the Soviet Government promised that propaganda would not be carried on within our country. Many feel that recent activities of the Third International have caused embarrassment on the part of the Soviet Government. Others point out that the Soviet Government, the Communist Party, and the Third International have always coöperated in their activities and in changes that have been made and that, consequently, the Soviet Government should be conscious of the activities and plans of the Third International at all times. On the other hand, there is sufficient evidence to prove that the Soviet Government is not only conscious of the activities of the Third International, but that it is actually encouraging these movements.

As the communists have looked upon the United States as a very favorable field for activity, and as there has been a certain amount of unrest in this country since the World War, the possibilities for communism have been more encouraging here than in some other countries. A large number of young people, in colleges especially, and adults have been encouraged to support a fairer and a more just plan than the present capitalistic system. They have been led to criticize the religious, the social, the economic, and the political life about them, and they have discovered great needs. Evidences



of mere acceptance of religion without understanding or sincere belief of weaknesses in the present social life, and of inequalities and injustices in the economic and political life have justified action for changes. Many new plans have been offered as remedies for the situation, but communism has been proposed with more earnestness and more vigor than any other system. The fact that communism in the United States does seem to be a possibility is not an accident but is the result of well-planned and well-directed propaganda.

Those who look to the American middle class for action in the future point out that this group would build a system or accept a system suited to the needs of the country. For this reason they believe that a fascist system would be more representative of the actual needs of the country. It would be planned and organized to satisfy the needs in this situation rather than that of a European country. The communist plan, on the other hand, would be imported from Moscow ready made. Unfortunately, the group in the United States that would be capable of introducing a good sane system are not interested in the government, and those who are interested are so eager for better conditions that they are willing to try anything once. Usually, also, they are encouraged by workers who have been influenced by radicals, of one type or another, who are very critical of existing conditions. With the increase in public education and the enrichment of educational opportunities, in many forms, there is more chance for independent thinking. The will and the interest is all that is

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necessary in most cases.

The present interest in unionism and the dissatisfaction with the present efforts of officials to improve the working conditions, the hours of labor, and the wages of the laborers have illustrated, to certain classes, the need for the principles expressed in the communist plan. This not only represents a change in labor conditions but the influences at work arousing the laborers and creating a desire for more consideration. There has been more evidence of communistic influences in this line than in any other field. The final outcome of these activities will depend first upon the importance of the demands which the workers are making and then upon the influence which radical groups have on the United States in general. Present conditions will have far-reaching results. The final outcome of these conditions and future developments will depend upon the trend of affairs, representing more freedom and greater efforts to improve the lives of the day laborer, or it will depend upon the influence of an outstanding personality. If a strong leader such as Lenin, Hitler, or Mussolini were to appear within the next few years,, his opportunities for influence would be very great. The present situation would form a good basis for action, and the one man rule has proven to be influential in similar circumstances.

In forming an estimate of the importance of the Third International in the United States to-day, it is necessary to admit that not all sources of information are reliable. It



is essential, also, to consider the increasing means of information and, therefore, the large number of opportunities for influence in the world to-day. As a result of this situation, it is not possible to arrive at a definite conclusion regarding the extent nor importance of outside influences. There is sufficient evidence in the United States to-day, nevertheless, to prove that unless our situation is more satisfactory in the next few years than it has been in the past, that communism may answer the need. This result may be true because changes in our present system are necessary but even more so because communists know how, when, and where to appeal to the people, and how to prepare for the crisis which may come. This crisis may be the result of many activities or trends but the most probable cause would be another world war. Other systems could be introduced very easily, under the circumstances, but no other group appears to express the enthusiasm nor the interest in a new American order that the communists have shown since the Russian Revolution. Unless the majority of the people within the United States become conscious of the forces at work within their system to-day and are willing to give their time and effort either to eliminate these forces or to introduce a better plan, as the communists have attempted to do in Russia, the citizens of the United States may look for a definite change in the near future.



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## APPENDIX I

Parties invited from different countries and classified with the Bolsheviks.

1. The "Spartacus" League (Germany).
2. The Bolsheviks, or the Communist Party (Russia).
3. German Austria.
4. Hungary.
5. Finland.
6. Poland.
7. Esthonia.
8. Latvia.
9. Lithuania.
10. White Russia.
11. Ukrainia.
12. The revolutionary elements of the Czechs.
13. The Social Democratic party of Bulgaria.
14. The Social Democratic party of Rumania.
15. The left wing of the Social Democratic party in Siberia.
16. The left wing of the Social Democratic party in Sweden.
17. The Socialist Democratic party in Norway.
18. The groups recognizing the principle of class struggle in Denmark.
19. The Communist party in Holland.
20. The revolutionary elements of the Workmen's party in Belgium.



- 21 and 22. Groups and organizations belonging to the Socialist and Syndicalist movement in France which are, in general, invited.
23. The left wing of the Social Democratic party in Switzerland.
24. The Socialist party in Italy.
25. The elements of the left wing of the Socialist party in Spain.
26. The elements of the left wing of the Socialist party in Portugal.
27. The British Socialistic party (the elements closest to us are represented by Mac Lean).
28. I. S. P. K. (England).
29. I. W. W. K. (England).
30. I. W. W. (Great Britain).
31. The revolutionary elements of the working organizations in Ireland.
32. The revolutionary elements of the Shop Stewards. (Great Britain).
33. S. L. P. (America).
34. The elements of the left wing of the Socialist party in America (tendencies represented by Debs and by the League of the Socialist propaganda).
35. American W. W. (Workers of the World).
36. W. W. in Australia.
37. American Workers International Industrial Union.
38. The Socialist groups of Tokio and of Samoa, represented by Genkkayma.
39. The Socialist International Youth.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Miliukov, Paul, Bolshevism: An International Danger, Its Doctrine and Practice Through War and Revolution (1920), 120.



APPENDIX II  
REVOLUTIONARY WORK OF THE  
BOLSHEVIST (COMMUNIST) PARTY

The work of the Bolshevist organizations in foreign countries is defined as follows:

- I. In the domain of international politics:
  - A. To support Chauvinist Movements and national conflicts.
  - B. To provoke agitation in order to bring about national conflicts.
  - C. To make attempts on the representatives of foreign powers. By these means internal disturbances and coup d'état will be brought about, and there will be increased Social Democratic agitation.
- II. In the domain of internal politics:
  - A. To compromise by all possible means the influential men in the country to make attempts on the men in power, and to provoke agitation against the Government.
  - B. To provoke general and partial strikes, to damage machinery and boilers and to spread propagandist literature. By these means coup d'état will be facilitated, and it will be possible to seize the supreme power.
- III. In the economic domain:
  - A. To provoke and support railway strikes, to blow up bridges, and railway lines, and do everything to disorganize transport.
  - B. To impede and prevent the provisioning of the towns with corn, to create financial difficulties and inundate the market with banknotes. Special Committees should be formed.



In this way an economic upheaval will bring about the inevitable collapse, and the coup d'état will receive the sympathy of the masses.

#### IV. In the military domain:

- A. To conduct a vigorous propaganda among the troops. To excite conflicts between officers and men, and to instigate attempts on superior officers.
- B. To blow up arsenals, bridges, railways, and powder magazines and to seize consignments of raw materials destined for factories and workshops.

The complete annihilation of the army will be affected, and the soldiers will adopt the Socialist Democratic labour programme.

#### V. Investigations and espionage for use in war-time:

- A. Investigations and espionage of strategic nature: in the army, in the fortresses, in the workshops, exact estimate of armed forces, information as to their moral.
- B. Investigations and espionage of a tactical nature at the front and behind the lines.
- C. Investigations and espionage in naval matters: information regarding location of squadrons, dockyards, naval bases.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Miliukov, Paul, Bolshevism: An International Danger- Its Doctrine and its Practice Through War and Revolution, (1920), 131